Old Fort Pierre and Its Neighbors

-BY -

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WITH EDITORIAL NOTES BY CHARLES E. DE LAND

PREFATORY NOTE

The author of the following article, Major Frederick T. Wilson of the United States army, prepared the sance at the request of the editor of the "U. S. Cavalry journal," published at Leavenworth, Kansas, in which periodical it first appeared, in 1894. Major Wilson states that the article was made tip from notes and data connected with the history of the military posts on the Missouri River. That he had at hand a wide range of resources in the military history of the Northwest, as well as considerable data connected with the fur-trading period, is evident from the comprehensive view of the situation taken by him, as well as by his frequent descent to details. In the nature of things some errors crept into some phases of his narrative of facts (what historical account is entirely free from them), but they are few, and in themselves, as exceptions, serve to emphasize the general character for truth and authenticity which is sustained by the paper as a whole, which is believed to be one of the most interesting and valuable contributions to the history of the .upper Missouri River region extant.

Major Wilson is a chief of division in the War Department; has been connected all his life with the army in both military and civil capacities, and has been in charge, ex-officio, of the preparation of public documents relating to the army and incidentally to these functions he has written the official history of a large number of forts and other military posts; but he did not personally participate in any of the events at or in the region of old Fort Pierre. Ile has also very courteously placed at the disposal of that member of the executive committee of the State Historical Society to whom was assigned the work of editing said article as part of the forthcoming report of the society, most of the notes used in preparation of the same, as a contribution

from the War Department to the work of the society, and has also forwarded additional data relating to the recent status of some of the military posts in the neighborhood of Fort Pierre, upon request made therefor. IIis valuable labors in this direction have, in the view of said committee, placed this state and the entire region comprehended by his article under large obligations to him, and have, it is believed, richly earned for him and his production a place in the initial volume of the annals of the State Historical Society.

The period covered by the article in question marks substantially the closing chapter in the long succession of years, extending from the pioneer expedition of Lewis and Clarke in 1804-6 until the end of the Sioux outbreak of 1862, and embracing the whole of the fur-trading era of the upper Missouri and the Rocky Mountains. As such, it was believed by the members of the Historical Society upon whom devolved the pleasing task of preparing the first volume of reports or annals of the society, that no more pertinent or fitting basis for grouping together historical facts comprehending that era could be found than that of Major Wilson's contribution in question. With such end in view, the foot-notes and appendices published as explanatory of and supplementary to the text of said article have been prepared, for the purpose of bringing to the aid of the historical student and the general public in something like connected form, an account of the various commercial enterprises and concerns through which the first movement towards the civilization of the territory in question was carried out. And the trading post, being the universal means to the end of that movement, naturally became the subject of historical treatment. In carrying out this purpose an effort has been made to substantially embrace all of the trading and military posts which played a more or less important part in the process of promoting that trade and, incidentally, of protecting the whites as against the Indians as well as British trespassers, while at the same time protecting the Indians under existing or contemplated treaties. Yet it is not by any means claimed that the article in question as thus explained and supplemented exhausts, even in general outline, the subject of the American fur trade. It is believed, however, that within the bounds of the immediate purpose of Major Wilson's paper, and as regards the Missouri River country and

the state of South Dakota as related thereto, the general subject in hand has received some substantial treatment in the following pages.

The events culminating in the Harney expedition of 1855, and those following and including the Stilly campaign in the sixties, are believed to be of special interest to the South Dakotan as paving the way for the general westward movement of immigration and pioneer settlement, and as witnessing the dissolution of frontier life best summed tip in the word "tradingpost." And as old Fort Pierre was, all things considered, the most important land-mark of its kind on the upper Missouri, as it has always been the most important commercial point on that waterway evolved out of the fur-trading process and the settlement of the' frontier, its locality may well become the center around which to build one of the principal monuments of history in our new commonwealth.

FORT PIERRE AND ITS NEIGHBORS

BY FREDERICK T. WILSON, LATE MAJOR FIRST REGIMENT DISTRICT COLUMBIA NATIONAL GUARD. WITH NOTES BY HON. CHARLES E. DELAND

Old Fort Pierre, which for more than half a century was one of the most conspicuous landmarks on the upper Missouri, and whose name is perpetuated in the capital of a sovereign state, possesses more than a passing interest to the army, with whose history it is indissolubly associated. While it owed its establishment to the pursuit of the fur trade, which in the early years of the present century engrossed the attention of the idle capital of the commercial world, while affording employment for the superfluous energy of those adventurous spirits who, through all history, have followed close upon the trail of the discoverer, it came early tinder the eye of the army, without whose protection it could not have existed a month It was one of a series of historical guide posts, which, dotted here and there across the western hemisphere, indicate the course of empire. The credulous nature of the unsuspecting native who, for a string of glittering beads, was willing to exchange a pelt or skin, an ivory tusk or a bundle of feathers worth a thousand times their value, has furnished the incentive through which more than one continent has been opened up to civilization.

An army legend asserts that the place was founded by the illustrious Peter the Hermit, who miraculously survived the first crusade, and selected this point near the mauvais terre, because of its unmitigated dreariness and its indescribable desolation; but as this is not well authenticated we give it for what it is worth. In the same manner we are compelled to discredit the intimation expressed in the well known sonnet that was sung about the camp-fires of the Sioux expedition of 1855:

"Oh, we don't mind the marching, nor the fighting do we fear, But we'll never forgive old Harney for bringing us to Pierre. They say old Shotto built it, but we know it is not so;
For the man who built this bloody ranche is reigning down below."

But all this is legendary, if not absurd, and we mention it merely as a part of the history that attaches to a famous locality. We shall discover facts enough before we are through.

As the first link then, in the chain of events that lead tip to the door of a state capital, we find living in New Orleans about the middle of the last century, under the governorship of the Marquis de Vaudreuil-Cavagnal, one Marie Therese Bourgeois, born in that city in 1733, who at the age of sixteen had married one Auguste Rene Chouteau, also a native of New Orleans, and finding him of an uncertain temper, abusive and violent of conduct, had left him and returned to her friends, taking their only child, Auguste, who had been born on the 26th of September, 1750. Upon the subsequent whereabouts or ultimate fate of M. Chouteau, pere, history is silent. In providing the name for a family that was to become famous in the annals of the New World, he seems to have fulfilled his destiny. Five years later there appeared at New Orleans one Pierre Laclede Liguest (there is doubt concerning the last of these names, and as it was seldom used, the point is unimportant), a native of Bearne, not far from Pau in the Pyrenees ; an attractive and energetic fellow of thirty or thereabouts, who had journeyed to the Mississippi in search of the proverbial fortune. He seems to have found it almost immediately, in the person of Mme. Chouteau-still young and unencumbered save by the youth Auguste, with whom he established domestic relations, and in the friendship of M. de Kerlerec, who had succeeded to the governorship upon the promotion of the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the governor-generalship of Canada, through whom he was enabled to secure a valuable contract to feed the French garrisons. In the pursuit of this vocation he encountered one Gilbert Auguste Maxent, another soldier of fortune, who was equally energetic and similarly ambitious, and who was also most influential at the vice-regal palace. In 1763, just before Louis XV., in a moment of bibulous generosity, had ceded the Louisiana Territory to Spain, de Kerlerec was recalled and sent to the bastile for safe-keeping, but not before having made over to Messieurs Maxent and Laclede the most valuable grant in his gift, an exclusive privilege to trade with the Indians

on the upper Mississippi and its tributaries. "Thus does the fate of empire on a trifle rest."

These enterprising gentlemen seem to have lost no time in taking possession. They left New Orleans on the 3d of August, 1763, with a party of trappers, hunters and tradesmen, about thirty in number, for the purpose of locating the first of their proposed chain of trading posts, taking with them Mme. Chouteau and her son Auguste, together with the four children who had been the result of her second union. The party landed at Fort Chartres on the 3d of November, where they spent the winter, but early in February, 1764, young Chouteau, then a robust youth of fourteen, was sent with a party of workmen to a spot on the west bank which Laclede had selected, to clear the ground and erect habitations. Here they were joined during the spring by another small party from New Orleans, and later by discharged soldiers and others from Fort Chartres.

As regards the naming of the new settlement there is much dispute. A favorite legend fixes the date of the completion of the village at the 25th of August, which being the fete day of Saint Louis, suggested the name. It is a fact, however, that for many years, after the custom of the fatherland, the 25th day of August was observed at St. Louis as the fete day of the settlement. From this date the firm of Maxent, Laclede & Co., the owners of the village and all its suburbs, as well as the sole purveyors of trade for all the country to the westward, seems to have flourished. Auguste Chouteau, whose business abilities developed with the trade, became the confidential clerk and agent of the company, its chief clerk, and finally its manager; so that when in 1778 old Pierre Laclede died, young Chouteau was selected by the governor to administer the estate. So well did he perform this duty that Mr. Maxent, who appears to have been at the best an inactive member of the firm, found it practicable to withdraw from the business, and Auguste, associating his younger brother, John Pierre, who by this time had reached his majority, picked tip the trade where Laclede had dropped it, and for the succeeding quarter of a century proceeded to amass a respectable fortune.

In the meantime Victorie, the eldest daughter of the Chouteau-Laclede union, had married Charles Gratiot; Palagie, the second, had espoused Sylvester Labbadie; and Marie Louise, the

third, Joseph M. Papin, all gentlemen of wealth and standing, and all interested in the Indian trade. Tohn Pierre had established intimate relations with the Osages and other tribes to the westward, and was regarded by Jefferson and Madison, no less than by Merriwether, Lewis and William Clark, as possessing the best knowledge of the Indian character of any_ man living, and by each of these officials was intrusted with many confidential missions. A son of John Pierre, by name Auguste Pierre, penetrated to the headwaters of the Arkansas, and died at his trading post in 1839; another son, Francis Gratiot, ascended the Missouri and founded Kansas City at the mouth of the Kaw. But this is to anticipate.

It was not to be expected that so promising a field should be long monopolized by a single firm. The license given Laclede by the French administration was never seriously recognized by the Spanish succession, though some feeble attempts were made to protect it, and when in 18oo Spain, tired of her unruly colony, returned it to the giver, the transfer was merely nominal, and the most of the inhabitants whose nationality was thus summarily tossed about, never heard of it, nor would have been at all concerned if they had. St. Louis as the head of the Indian trade soon became the rendezvous of daring spirits of all nations, who saw in the impending contest between England and France for the control of a continent a probable opportunity for the exercise of their peculiar talents. It was while the decision of this absorbing question was hovering in the balance that the sagacious mind of Napoleon found a happy though unexpected solution in the sale of the whole country, present and remote to the United States; and this was the signal for deeds of enterprise and daring such as were to surprise the world.

The Fur Trade on the Missouri

In 1802, one Manuel Lisa, a wealthy and enterprising Spaniard, formed at St. Louis a partnership with Francis Benoit, Gregory Sarpy and Charles Sanguinet, under the name of Lisa, Benoit & Co., for the purpose of operating an Indian trade along the upper Missouri in opposition to the Chouteaus, but nothing seems to have come of it beyond a dispute among the partners, which the courts were called upon to settle. In i8o6, however, encouraged by the favorable reports of Lewis and Clarke, two

army officers who had spent the winter of 1804-5 at the Mandan villages, not far from the present site of Bismarck, and had penetrated to the Rocky Mountains, Lisa formed another partnership with George Druillard,' one of Lewis and Clarke's men, with a capital of $r6,oco, and entered upon active operations. These gentlemen ascended the Missouri during the fall of 1807 and spent the winter at the month of the Yellowstone and Big Horn. Their establishment, to which they gave the name of Fort Manuel,' was the first in that section. Lisa returned to St. Louis in i8o8, and together with General William Clarke, the famous pioneer, and Sylvester Labbadie, the son-in-law of Madame Chouteau, each contributing $9,000, organized the American Fur Company ! In the spring of i8op these three gentlemen, at the head of a party of 150 men, ascended the =Missouri as far as Fort Manuel,' leaving a small establishment at the Arickaras village not far below the mouth of Big Knife River, which they called Fort Clarke,' a second at the Mandan village, a mile or two above; and a third at the village of the Gros Ventres' on the right bank. In the spring of 1810 they proceeded to the Three Forks of the Missouri, where they erected a fort and commenced trapping for beaver. They had every prospect of success until their operations were interrupted by the hostility of the Blackfeet, and after having lost some thirty of their men, became dispirited and began to separate, some returning by way of the Missouri, and others entering the employ of the Hudson Bay Company. The company languished daring the second war with Great Britain, and finally expired about 1816.

About this time, Gabriel Cerre and Francis Gratiot Chouteau commenced to trade with the Kansas Nation, locating their house at a point very near, the mouth of the Kansas (or Kaw), and Bernard Pratte, Jr., a grandson of Madame Chouteau, and Joseph and Antoine Vasquez built a trading station at the Maha (or O-maha) village, somewhere about the mouth of the Platte.° In 1818 the United States factory at Fire Prairie (Fort Osage'°) was abandoned, leaving the trade of the Osages to Charles Leguerrier and the Chouteau Brothers, who had contested it for twenty years. These, with the trading houses of John and Francois Roberdeau and John M. Papin, another son-in-law of Madame Chouteau, enjoyed a monopoly of the trade with the Ottoes, the loways and the Missourias, while the firm of Ber-

thold & Chouteau took that of the Pawnees, the O-mahas, the Piankeshaws, the Arickarees, and such of the Sioux as could be reached.

Such was the condition of the trade along the Missouri when, in I8I9, nine gentlemen of St. Lotus formed a partnership tinder the name of the Missouri Fur Company, having for its object the purchase of the interest of the company of the same name that had failed in 1816.11 These were Manuel Lisa," who was selected its president ; Thomas Hempstead, Jr., a brother-inlaw of Lisa; Joshua Pilcher; who afterwards became superintendent of Indians at St. Louis; Joseph Perkins, Andrew Woods, Moses B. Carson, John B. Zenoin, Andrew Dripps and Robert Jones. During that summer Pilcher, who was well acquainted with the country, with a well appointed party, ascended the Missouri until they had outdistanced all the trading houses on the river. Then, at what is now known as the Second Cedar Island, they built their first post, which they called Fort aux Cedars;" at a point on the left bank, opposite Prospect Island, they located a second, tinder the name of Fort Lookout," and at about an equal distance above the Great Bend, also on the left bank, they left a third, which later became known as Fort George." At the Great Bend itself they erected a blacksmith shop for the manufacture of axes, battle axes, hatchets, knives, lances, etc., for the Indian trade, and twenty miles farther along the river, at a point on the right bank, opposite the mouth of the Teton, they built a small establishment surrounded by a stockade, to which they gave the name of Fort Tecumseh.16 This was very near the site of the present city of Pierre, South Dakota.

The history of the following ten years, which was one of comparative quiet on the Missouri, takes us for a moment into the unexplored regions to the west and northwest. In I8o9-Io John Jacob Astor had organized his American Fur Company" (the titles of these corporations become confusing) under a charter from the state of New York, with a capital of $I,ooo,ooo -an immense sum in those days-and this parent company had begot a numerous offspring, most of them fledgelings, organized, perhaps, as in these later years, rather for speculative purposes than legitimate operations. Among these were the Pacific Fur Company, created in I8Lo, with headquarters at the new city

of Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia; the Southwest Company, in 1811, intended to operate as far south as the Platte; the Columbia Fur Company, in 1817, to cover the territory between the Mississipppi and the Yellowstone, and the two latter merging in 1826 with the North American Fur Company,' which had been created in 1823. All these, it will be observed, confined their operations to the territory north of the 40th parallel. The country to the south of this line, which touched closely upon the Spanish possessions, was practically a terra incognito. In 1826 Jededia Smith, William Jackson and Milton Sublette organized a company at St. Louis, under the name of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company," for the purpose of penetrating this southern section, and during the following four or five years explored the whole region from St. Louis to Santa Fe, and from thence to the Pacific, along the ocean to the mouth of the Columbia, and thence up the Columbia and back to the Missouri. But although this series of explorations were among the most remarkable achievements of American history, and although the company mustered at one time more than four hundred employes, and had projected enterprises that were rather gigantic than practicable, there came a time when it found itself unable to realize on its expectations, and after an existence of scarcely eight years, the Rocky Mountain Company decided to retire from business.

In the meantime the Chouteaus, including the various branches of the family, had been busily accumulating fortunes. Bernard Pratte, who had married the daughter of Sylvester Labbadie and Pelagie Chouteau, John P. Cabanne, a banker of St. Louis, and Bartholomew Berthold, who had married the only slaughter of John Pierre, Sr., had joined with Pierre, Jr., to form the American Fur Company of St. Louis. Then Auguste and Pierre, Sr., had retired, and had been succeeded by Pierre, Jr. '2" inuch the ablest and energetic of the family, and the latter, with his partners of the American Fur Company, had, in 1834, purchased all the western interests of Astor, thus swallowing the progeny of its eastern patronymic, and becoming so formidable a competitor to the Hudson Bay Company as to compel it to confine its operations to British territory. So that when the stock of the Rocky Mountain Company came into the market, it was Pierre Chouteau, Jr., as the head

of the Chouteau syndicate, who grasped it, and by this operation succeeded in controlling nearly all the fur business of. the United States east of the Rockies, as well as the trade with Santa Fe.

Fort Pierre Chouteau

In purchasing the Astor interests, Chouteau had secured the services of the men who had been managing those interests, and who, in many instances, had opened up and developed them. Among these was one, Kenneth McKenzie, a native of Scotland, who had served the Hudson's Bay Company, from which he had retired in 1820 and located himself as an independent trader on the upper- Missouri, becoming friendly with the Indians, and held by them in great respect. In 1829 he had gone with the North American Company,' and when this was purchased by Chouteau, lie had entered the service of the latter and was put in charge of all his trade on the upper Missouri, with headquarters at Fort Tecumseh. The site of this post was not a convenient one for the Indians with whom McKenzie desired to trade ;22 the river was wide at this point, and crossing difficult; for three and four days at a time the high winds, low waters and quicksands closed all communication with the other bank. ' Moreover, experience had determined that the left bank 21 of the Missouri was the preferable one for Indian trading. On this side roamed the Tetons," the Ogallalas and Arickares, much the larger and friendlier tribes, while on the north bank the Yanctons, Yanktonies and Siounes were few in numbers, and to reach them it was necessary to go as far as the Jacques, frequently to the St. Peters. In company with William Laidlow,' another employe of the Chouteau Company, McKenzie" visited the head village of the Arickares and obtained their consent to the location of a trading post on the left bank. The'site selected was a level plateau some three hundred feet back from the river, about three miles" from the mouth of the Wapka Shicka (variously styled the_ Teton, the Bad and the Little Missouri), and there in the spring of 1832, they erected a stockade 28o by 300 feet square, to which they gave the name of Fort Pierre Chouteau.

The new establishment having been completed, all portable property was removed from Fort Tecumseh and that post aban-

doned. The letter book, in which was recorded all the transactions of the establishment, shows the last communication from Fort Tecumseh to have been dated May 10, 1832, and signed by Kenneth McKenzie; the next is dated at Fort Pierre June 17, 1832, and signed by William Laidlow, which is approximately the date of the opening of business at Fort Pierre.

It was about this time that the post was visited by George Catlin,- the famous Indian painter, whose portraits of the more prominent chiefs of the various tribes of North American Indians adorn the national museum at Washington. Catlin dates his letters from the month of the Teton, which point he had reached after descending the Missouri from the mouth of the Yellowstone, in company with Batiste and Bogard, his compagnons du voyage. "I am living with and enjoying the hospitality of a gentleman by the name of Laidlow," lie writes (this in May or June, 1832), "a Scotchman, who is attached to the American Fur Company, and who, in company with Alr. McKenzie (of whom I have before spoken) and Lamont, has the whole agency of the fur company's transactions in the regions of the upper Missouri and the Rocky Mountains.

"This gentleman has a finely built fort here of two or three hundred feet square, enclosing eight or ten of their factories, houses and stores, in the midst of which lie occupies spacious and comfortable apartments, which are well supplied with the comforts and luxuries of life, and neatly and respectably conducted by a fine looking, modest and dignified Sioux woman, the kind and affectionate mother of his little flock of pretty and interesting children.

"This fort is undoubedly one of the most important and productive of the American Fur Company's posts, being in the center of the great Sioux country, drawing fronI all quarters an immense and almost incredible number of buffalo robes, which are carried to the New York and other eastern markets and sold at a great profit. This post is thirteen hundred miles above St. Louis, on the west bank of the A lissouri, on a beautiful plain near the mouth of the Teton ltiver, which empties into the Missouri from the west, and the fort has received the name of Fort Pierre, in compliment to Monsieur Pierre Chouteau, who is one of the partners in the fur company, residing in St. Louis, and to whose politeness I am indebted, as I have before mentioned,

for my passage in the company's steamer on her first voyage to the Yellowstone, and whose urbane and gentlemanly society, I have before said, I had during my passage.

"The country about this fort is almost entirely prairie, producing, along the banks of the river and streams only, slight skirtings of timber. No site could have been selected more pleasing or more advantageous than this; the fort is in the center of one of the Missouri's most beautiful plains, and hemmed in by a series of gracefully undulating, grass-covered hills on all sides, rising like a series of terraces to the summit level of the prairies, some three or four hundred feet in elevation, which then stretches off in an apparently boundless ocean of gracefully swelling waves and fields of green. On my way up the river I made a painting of this lovely spot, taken from the summit of the bluffs, a mile or two distant (Plate 85), showing an encampment of Sioux, of six hundred tents or skin lodges, around the fort, where they had concentrated to make their spring trade, exchanging their furs and peltries for articles and luxuries of civilized manufactures."

Catlin's view of this scene (which is No. 384 in the catalogue), taken as he states, from the summit of a bluff a mile or more distant, necessarily reduces the establishment of Fort Pierre to a mere incident in the background of a wide landscape, the motive of which is an Indian encampment, made tip of numberless parallel lines of conical tents of a dingy whiteness, in a framework of deep green. The Missouri, like a narrow ribbon of a faint blue tint, winds along the left mid-ground, and is lost behind the opposite bluffs. Mr. Catlin expresses himself as under deep obligations to McKenzie, Laidlow, and to Mr. Halsey," the chief clerk of the establishment, and records the fact that during his stay at the fort, which covered a period of several weeks, he had the pleasure of meeting Major Sanford, the agent of the Sioux, as well as the redoubtable Pierre Chouteau himself. These gentlemen, on their way to the headwaters of the Missouri, seem to have rested a week or two at Fort Pierre, their presence creating the greatest enthusiasm and pleasure to the Indians, more than 6,ooo of whom, according to Mr. Catlin, were encamped around the fort.

A rough ground plan of the work, supplemented by the painting of Mr. Catlin, the recollections of Captain Labarge,80

still living at St. Louis (1897), who was a steamboat captain on the Missouri, in the employ of Pierre Chouteau & Co., and who journeyed to the spot in 1855 on the steamboat St. Mary, and on behalf of that company delivered over the fort to the United States, and an itemized schedule of the improvements as they were in 1855,' enables us to substantially restore the original trading post as it appeared when completed by McKenzie.

The "fort," so-called, was constructed by enclosing an area of something less than two acres of ground by a picket or stockade of cottonwood logs sixteen to twenty feet in length, set upright in the earth and sufficiently deep to give them a firm hold. On the northwest and southeast corners were block-houses twenty-four feet square, two stories in height, each projecting eight feet outside the stockade, built of logs and covered by a hip roof, shingled. The stockade was entered by two gates ten feet in width and sixteen in height, opening from the east.'Within this enclosure, which was 280 feet east and west by 300 feet north and south,`` were some twenty buildings of various description, and devoted to the various purposes of a frontier trading post.

Entering the main gate, which stood nearly in the center of the east front, the buildings first encountered were two one-story houses seven and one-half feet in height, of hewed logs, each 60x24, and separated by a ten-foot passage way, which led into the inner enclosure. The building on the right was the carpenter's shop; that on the left was given over to the blacksmith, the tinner and the saddler. Adjoining these were two long buildings 110x24, and facing them, a third of same dimensions, each of a single story, nine feet in height, built of logs and covered by a shingle roof. The one on the right was the trading-house, or store, where were kept the articles which were given the Indians in exchange for their furs. It was in this building that the bartering went on, and where the courtesies of the company were extended in the form of liquor and tobacco. The other two of the larger buildings were used for quarters for the employes. A building directly in the rear of the westernmost of these, which was also of logs 40x20, was devoted to the kitchens; other smaller log buildings, 24x24, were scattered about the enclosure and used mostly for storing the furs and peltries, awaiting a fitting opportunity to send them down the river to St.

Louis. To the right of the blacksmith's shop were the stables; in the rear of the trading-house the saw mill, and beyond the mill an adobe structure twenty feet square, with tin roof, which was used as a magazine.' The place was intended to accommodate from fifty to one hundred men, though few occasions were likely to occur- for so great a number. It is improbable that one-half that number were there at any one time for the twenty-five years following its establishment.

The earliest map of this section that was based upon official reconnaissances was that of Nicollet (1843), who visited the vicinity in 1839, and was assisted by Lieutenant J. C. Fremont of the topographical engineers. On this map the trading post appears as Fort Pierre Chouteau. The next was made by Lieutenant (afterwards Major-General) Gouvencur K. Warren of the topographical engineers, who accompanied General Harney on the Sioux expedition of 1855. This map was published in 1859. There are plenty of earlier maps, but none of much value. Warren's map designates it as Fort Pierre, but all the earlier maps, as well as the one made by the Coltons of -Tew York, for Wool
worth's Nebraska, in 18,57, give the full name. The nature of
the elision is unusual, and can be accounted for only on the score of that economy of speech that is peculiar to frontier life. Posts with such designations as Fort John Buford or Fort David A. Russell have quickly become Fort Buford and Fort Russell, but never Fort John or Fort David.'5 Be that as it may, Fort Pierre for the twenty-five years following its establishment, and in fact for many years afterwards, became the most important landmark in the Sioux country. There is nothing to be said of its history during this period that may not be said of any frontier trading post. Its existence was uneventful.

Nicollet,' in his journal, remarks that he arrived at Fort Pierre on the 12th of June, 1839, on the steamboat Antelope, owned by the American Fur Company of St. Louis\which, he says, had been controlled by the several firms of Pratte, Cabane & Co., Pratte, Chouteau & Co., and Pierre Chouteau & Co., having left St. Louis on the 4th of April, so that they were sixtynine days ascending a distance of 1,271 miles. Among his fellow travelers were liI. William Laidlow, who was the first manager at Fort Pierre, and was then in charge of the company's establishment at the Yellowstone (Fort Union),'" and a Mr. Kipp,`

also an employe of the company, who was stationed at the post on the Maria (Fort Piegan), together with some sixty or seventy employes of the company Creoles, Canadians and half-breeds, destined for the various posts of the company. At the time of Nicollet's visit the agents of the factory at Fort Pierre were Mr. p. W. Papin and Jacob Halsey, to whose zeal and interest he is much indebted for the furtherance of his work.

The Trading Posts Multiply

But in the meantime Fort Pierre was being slowly surrounded, and the immense circle of which it was once the center was gradually contracting. The government, which in 1827 had located a large post at a point not far above the mouth of the Kansas under the name of Fort Leavenworth,'`' was rapidly 1-econnoitering the country, and sending out expeditions in all directions north and west. In 1829 McKenzie had located a post at the mouth of the Yellowstone, the first on the Missouri within the limits of what is now Montana, to which he gave the name of Fort Union. In 1830 he made a treaty with the Piegans, and with their permission, in 1831, erected a post at the mouth of Maria River which he called Fort Pie-an." This location proved a mistake, and he built another in 1832 on the south side of the Missouri at a point called Brule Bottom, and called it Fort Brule. It was during this year that three experienced fur hunters, by name Preman, Harvey and Boise," formed a partnership for the Indian trade, and established their headquarters at the point on the left bank opposite Medicine Knoll River., where Pilcher' had located a post in 1819, and which the Arickarees had robbed the following spring. They gave to their post the name of Fort George. It was a small affair; a few huts, neither stockaded nor fortified," and the entire establishment, trading post, business, principals and employes, was almost immediately absorbed by the Chouteau company, but the name of the post has survived as a prominent landmark to the present day. Another of Pilcher's posts, Fort Lookout," about the same distance below the Big Bend as Fort George was above it, came into the possession of the Chouteaus at about the same time. It was at this post that Atkinson and O'Fallon had made a treaty with the Tetons, the Yanktons and the Yanktonais on the 22d of June, 1825.

The following year Robert Campbell and William Sublette built another post five miles below Fort Union, under the name of Fort William," and the same year McKenzie erected a large post at the mouth of the Big Horn for the use of the Crows calling it Fort Van Buren," and this proving an inconvenient point for the Indians he removed it a few miles below, but changed its name to Fort Cass." The next year (1834) the Chouteau company went out as far as possible on the Platte and built Fort Laramie," which in 1849 they sold to the United States, and in 1843 Alexander Culbertson,- one of Chouteau's men who had been superintendent at Fort Brule, and later at Fort Laramie,' was sent back to the Piegans, and built Fort Lewis," twenty-five miles above the mouth of the Maria. Three years afterwards this post was abandoned and the timbers of which it was constructed rafted down the river eight miles, where Culbertson founded Fort Benton'- in 1846. About the same time, perhaps a year earlier, the Chouteaus built a post among the Gros Ventres and Mandans, thirty miles below the mouth of the Little Missouri, under the name of Fort Berthold." In 1848, Galpin and Labarge, both employes of the Chouteau company, set up for themselves, and built a number of posts along the Missouri' and Yellowstone, among them Fort Camp-bell,"" a short distance above Fort Benton, but they soon abandoned the trade and returned to the American Fur Company. The same year Lawender,'° another rival trader, built Fort Alexander" on the Yellowstone, and in 1850 Culbertson went as far as the mouth of the Rosebud and built Fort Sarpy.". This was the last of the trading posts. The country was slowly but surely opening up to settlement, and the primitive methods, which had been ample for dealing with the unsuspicious Indian, were inadequate to meet the new conditions.

The settlements were increasing; and to protect the settlers, no less than to keep open the routes of immigration, the aid of the general government was called in, and the instrument of the government for this purpose was naturally the army. As has been mentioned, the United States had in 1827 built a large fort at Leavenworth, near the mouth of the Kansas, and in 1849 had purchased from the American Fur Company its old post on the north fork of the Platte at the mouth of the Laramie." A year earlier it had located Fort Kearney at a point on the Platte mid-

Way between those two; it now (1853) built a large post which it called Fort Riley, at the junction of the Republican and Kansas, about midway between Leavenworth and Kearney; and a second on the Minnesota, under the name of Fort Ridgeley. The trail between Fort Ridgeley and Fort Laramie, the two posts furthest advanced, something over 65o miles in length, crossed the Missouri at Fort Pierre, which was nearly equidistant between them. This was the situation when, in 1855, the repeated and merciless barbarities of the Sioux had reached a point where longer forbearance on the part of the government was not to be thought of.

During the years 1850 to 1854 the Sioux had committed frequent depredations upon the settlers throughout Nebraska and the Dakotas, as well as upon the emigrants passing along the route to Oregon and Utah. On the 19th of August, 1854, Lieutenant Grattan of the Sixth Infantry was sent by the commanding officer at Fort Laramie with thirty men to arrest an offender. The entire detachment was massacred by the Indians with the exception of one man, who escaped severely wounded, and subsequently died. The circumstances of this affair were at first involved in much obscurity, but investigation proved that the massacre was the result of a deliberately formed plan, prompted by a knowledge of the weakness of the garrison at Fort Laramie, and by the temptation to plunder the public and private stores accumulated at and near that post. The number of the Indians engaged in this affair was between 1,500 and 2,000. For the purpose of chastising these Indians, and to protect from further Indian incursions the frontiers of Nebraska and Kansas, as well as the emigrant routes leading from the Missouri to the west, the war_ department determined to enter the Sioux country in force.

The orders of the secretary of war for this purpose are dated March 22, 1855. They designate Brevet Brigadier-General Wm. S. Harney as the commander of a force of about 1,000 men, to conduct the operations about to be undertaken against the Sioux, and direct him to proceed to St. Louis to complete the preparations for the expedition. The troops selected were the light battery of the Fourth Artillery then at Fort Leavenworth ; four companies of the Second Dragoons at Fort Riley; two companies of the Second Infantry from Fort Riley and four from

Carlisle Barracks; six companies of the Sixth Infantry from Jefferson Barracks, three from Fort Laramie and one from Fort Kearney. In the preparation of the plan of campaign it was considered that the theater of operations would be limited on the south by the Platte, on the northeast by the Missouri, and the northwest by the Black Hills, with an area of about 90,000 square miles; that the strength of the hostile Sioux would be about 7,000 warriors, and that a decisive engagement with the whole hand was preferable to allowing them to break up into small parties. To accomplish this end, it was determined to establish three depots for the collection of troops and supplies. Fort Kearney, Fort Laramie, and a third at some point on the upper Missouri between the White Earth and Cheyenne, in the vicinity of Fort.Pierre.

The United States Buys Fort Pierre

On the following day the quartermaster general directed Major Vinton, the quartermaster at St. Louis, to "obtain the most reliable information possible as to the suitableness of Fort Pierre Chouteau, at the mouth of the Bad River on the upper i\lissouri, for a depot of supplies." Major Vinton replied on the 3oth, enclosing a rough plan of Fort Pierre and of the surrounding country. Ile reported that he had conversed with Mr. John B. Sarpy," the active partner at St. Louis of the firm of P. Chouteau, Jr. & Co., and from this conversation he gathered that Fort Pierre is unfitted for a depot of supplies for any considerable force. The fort itself is small, and is located in the mauvais terre, where for hundreds of miles there is no grass that can be made into hay; no good ground for corn and fodder, and no fuel within twenty miles. Although lie expresses at considerable length decidedly unfavorable opinion of Fort Pierre as a depot, lle is compelled to admit that, for the purposes of the contemplated operations, there is no other point on the Missouri more eligible, and on the 9th of April lie forwarded a statement from a Mr. Picotte, an old employe of the American Fur Company, much at variance with that of Mr. Sarpy. This view of the case seems to have prevailed at the war department, for on the 14th of April an agreement was entered into between General Charles Gratiot," representing P. Chouteau & Co., and Quartermaster General Jesup, whereby the former agreed to sell to the

United States, for the sum of $45,000, "the trading establishment on the Missouri River, near the mouth of the Little Missouri giver, called and known as `Fort Pierre,' together with all buildings within and around the pickets of said fort, and all the lumber and other materials in and around it, `as well as' the island in the vicinity," possession to be given on or before June I, 1855.

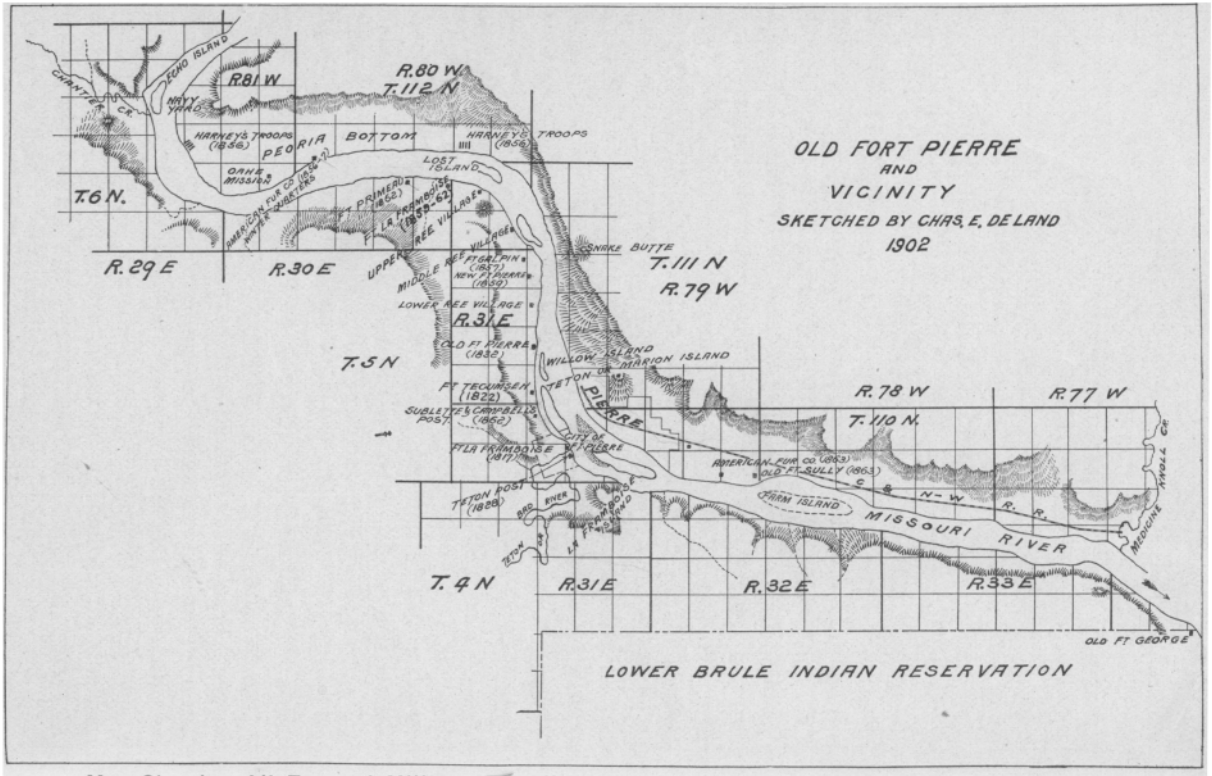
General Gratiot

The appearance of General Gratiot in this transaction was somewhat significant. If we are to credit the volume of parol testimony, the opinions of many prominent officers of his period, including General Scott, as well as of a senate judiciary committee, General Gratiot was perhaps the most-shall we say the best-abused man in the history of the army. To the dispassionate student who writes sixty years after the event, his case appears to have been one in which a most worthy and zealous officer became enveloped in the meshes of red tape and fell a victim to his own obstinacy. This is no place to argue the matter; it will suffice to narrate the cold facts.

Missouri had two appointments in the year 1804 to the military academy, and such was the influence and power of the commercial interests at that period, that both of these most desirable posts were captured by the house of Chouteau. To Auguste, the son of Auguste, who was the eldest son of Madame Chouteau and Pierre Laclede, was given the one, and to Charles, a mere lad of sixteen, the son of Charles Gratiot and Victorie, the eldest (laughter, the other. Both graduated well in the class of i8o6, young Chouteau going to the Second Infantry, and thence to the staff of General Wilkinson, and Gratiot taking his eighteen years of manhood to the engineers. Promotion was rapid; he was a captain at twenty, a major at twenty-seven, a lieutenant-colonel at thirty-one, and before he was forty he was at the head of his corps, with the rank of colonel and chief engineer of the armies of the United States. In the meantime lie had seen hard service in the field under Harrison in the war of 1812-15; had built and helped to build Forts Delaware and Mifflin, Forts Monroe and Calhoun as well as the defenses of the lakes, one of which had been named in his honor. No officer stood higher in the estimation of the army and of his countrymen : none,deserved better 1)(1h I- "i Ili, r, pill-ii".

Like every officer who handles public money (and General Gratiot up to 1835 had handled from ten to twenty millions) he was in interminable correspondence with the auditor; letters of advice concerning allowances and disallowances; statements of differences, demanding explanations of this, of that, and the other. What officer of the army is there who has not been through it all? Gratiot claimed that his accounts had not been settled for twenty years; that he never knew, and was never told, whether he owed the government or the government owed him, until the 19th of July, 1838, when he was directed by the auditor to transfer some $35,000 from one account to another. At this time his pay had been stopped for some months in consequence of disallowances and suspensions ; he had been urging, begging and pleading for a settlement; all to no effect. A happy thought strikes him : he will hold on to the small balance in his hands until the government condescends to balance his accounts; that done, both parties can start all over again. He is amazed that the brilliancy of this idea does not strike the secretary of war with equal force. On the contrary, the secretary of war submits the matter to the president, who, on the 28th of November, 1838, decides that General Gratiot is wrong in his position that an officer may retain public moneys to satisfy alleged claims against the government, and directs that lie pay over at once to the treasury the sum of $21,654, and $10,058 more within thirty days. Alas for the perversity which usually accompanies a hard head and an obstinate will. Instead of promptly obeying this order, and fearing that to turn over this money would leave him no recourse for the future recovery of the money, he believed to be due him, he filed a demurrer. To this President Van Buren responded on the 4th of December, by summarily dismissing him from the army. And with this, so far as the government was concerned, the incident was closed. No amount of pleading, or threatening, or litigation, or petitioning, ever accomplished the slightest change in the attitude of the war department. No one ever believed that General Gratiot was guilty of anything but stubbornness and obstinacy; his character, so far as we know, was never attacked. All the same, he was ruined, officially, financially, and personally.

Two years later lie was given a clerkship in the general land office, which he held until 1855, when, his health undermined



Map Showing All Fur and Military Establishments in the Vicinity of Pierre from 1817 to 1865

and his spirit broken by the neglect of friends and relatives, he returned to his home to die-a victim to bureaucracy? injustice? the ingratitude of republics? Who shall say? His signature to the sale of the old fort of Fort Pierre was the last he ever wrote. It was dated the 14th of April, 1855 ; on the i8th of May he was dead. But all unknowingly he was contributing to a tardy retribution. He was selling to the government that had driven him out of the army for a paltry eight to ten thousand dollars, a tumble-down trading post, two thousand miles from anywhere, for $45,000, that would have been clear at that many hundreds.

The orders for the movement of these troops were issued under date of March 23d. They provided that the four companics of the Second Infantry at Carlisle, and the two from Fort Riley, should proceed up the Missouri River in boats and establish a post in the vicinity of Fort Pierre; the remainder of the expedition to rendezvous at Kearney and Laramie; Fort Pierre to be the principal depot, where two-thirds of the supplies should be accumulated, and arrangements made for the accommodation of four companies of cavalry and six of infantry. The movement was to be commenced at once.

Owing, however, to the difficulty encountered in obtaining vessels of proper draft, and to the want of reliable information regarding the navigation of the upper Missouri, it was the first week in July before the first troops had reached Fort Pierre. The steamboat Australia, which had been chartered to take the Second Infantry from Fort Leavenworth, sank en route in nine feet of water, and although the troops and baggage were saved, the pubic stores on board were lost and had to be replaced. The government had purchased two light draft side-wheel boats especially for this expedition, the William Baird and Grey Cloud, each drawing twenty-eight inches, and capable of carrying 350 tons on four and one-half feet of water, and had chartered every available boat at St. Louis; yet owing to the low water and difficulties of navigation, every one of them had been compelled to discharge at least half their cargoes at different points. The Baird and Grey Cloud, despite their light draft, proved too large and heavy, so that the supplies shipped in early June from St. Louis did not reach Fort Pierre until the 20th of August. All this operated to delay the expedition, so that it was feared that the season would be too far advanced for active operations.

The Sioux Expedition of 1855

The first boat to arrive at Fort Pierre was the Arabia, on the 7th of July, with headquarters and Company G of the Second Infantry, log officers and men. This was followed on the 12th by the Grey Cloud, with eighty-two men of Company A, and the Baird, with eighty-four men of Company 1, all under the command of Captain Henry W. Wessells, Second Infantry. On the 14th, Major W. R. Montgomery, the regimental commander, arrived with Major Gaines of the pay department, and assumed command of the post. A few days later they were joined by Captain P. T. Turnley of the quartermaster's department, Captain M. D. L. Simpson, commissary of subsistence, Assistant Surgeon T. C. Madison, and Lieutenant G. K. Warren of the topographical engineers; and these officers and troops formed the first garrison of Fort Pierre. On the 2d of August Captain Nathaniel Lyon, with Company B, Second Infantry, thirty-seven men, and Company C, thirty-five men, arrived on the Clara, and they were joined on the 19th by Captain William M. Gardner, with two officers and eighty men, by the Genoa.

The following is a list of the officers and troops who accom panied the Sioux expedition of 1855-56 or were with the expedi tion at any time

Commanding

Brevet Brigadier General Wm. S. Harney, colonel Second Dragoons.

Staff

Brevet Major O. F. Winship, assistant adjutant general.

Captain Alfred Pleasanton, Second Dragoons, acting assistant adju tant general.

Captain Stewart Van Vliet, assistant quartermaster.

Captain P. T. Turnley, assistant quartermaster at Fort Pierre.

Captain M. D. L. Simpson, subsistence department.

Lieutenant Colonel Timothy P. Andrews, pay department.

Major Benj. F. Harney, surgeon.

Captain David L. Magruder, assistant surgeon.

First Lieutenant Geo. T. Balch, ordnance corps.

Second Lieutenant G. K. Warren, topographical engineers.

Second Lieutenant Marshall T. Polk, Second Infantry, aide-de-camp.

Second Lieutenant E. McK. Hudson, Fourth Artillery, aide-de-camp.

Second Dragoons

Lieutenant Colonel, Philip St. Geo. Cooke.

Major, M. S. Howe.

Adjutant, Thomas J. Wright.

Company D-Captain, Lawrence P. Graham; First Lieutenant, Samuel "' H. Stair; Second Lieutenant, John Pegram.

Company E-First Lieutenant, Wm. D. Smith; Second Lieutenant, Henry B. Livingston; Brevet Lieutenant, James Wheeler, Jr.

Company H-Captain, Alfred Pleasanton; First Lieutenant, John Buford (R. Q. M.); Brevet Second Lieutenant, John B. Villipique.

Company K--First Lieutenant, Wm. Steele; First Lieutenant, Beverly H. Robertson; Brevet Second Lieutenant, Thomas Hight.

Second Infantry

Colonel, Francis Lee.

Lieutenant Colonel, John J. Abercrombie.

Major, Hannibal Day.

Major, Wm. R. Montgomery.

Adjutant, Nathaniel H. McLean.

R. Q. M., Geo. H. Paige.

Company A-Captain, C. S. Lovell; First Lieutenant, Caleb Smith; Second Lieutenant, John O. Long.

Company B-Captain, Nathaniel Lyon; First Lieutenant, James Curtis.

Company C-Captain, Nelson H. Davis; First Lieutenant, Thomas Wright; Second Lieutenant, Marshall T. Polk (A. D. C.).

Company D-Captain, Wm. M. Gardner; First Lieutenant, H. M. McLean (regimental adjutant) ; Second Lieutenant, John D. O'Connell.

Company G-Captain, Henry W. Wessells; First Lieutenant, George H. Paige (R. Q. M.) ; Second Lieutenant, Alfred E. Latimer.

Company I-Captain, Delozier Davidson; First Lieutenant, Thos. W. Sweeny; Second Lieutenant, Henry A. Sargeant.

Sixth Infantry

Major, Albemarle Cady.

Company A-Captain, John B. S. Todd; Second Lieutenant, Silas P. Higgins.

Company E-Captain, Samuel Woods; First Lieutenant, Darius D. Clark; Second Lieutenant, James A. Smith.

Company H-Captain, Thomas Hendrickson; Second Lieutenant, Chas. G. Sawtelle.

Company K-Captain, Richard B. Garnett; Second Lieutenant, R. E. Patterson.

Company C-Second Lieutenant, John McCleary.

Tenth Infantry

Company E-Captain, Henry Heth; First Lieutenant, Nathan A. M. Dudley.

Fourth Artillery

Light Battery G-Captain, Albin P. Howe; First Lieutenant, Richard C. Drum; First Lieutenant, Edward McK. Hudson; Second Lieutenant, John Mendenhall.

Troops

Second Infantry-Companies A, B, C. D. G and I
Sixth Infantry-Companies A, E. H and K.
Tenth Infantry-Company E.
Second Dragoons-Companies D, E, H and K.
Fourth Artillery-Light Battery G.

The necessity of leaving small detachments in charge of the stores that had been discharged at various points along the river protracted the conclusion of this primary movement until nearly the first of September. Major Wessells, with his company, had been sent down to old Fort George, twenty miles below the Teton, where the transports had been compelled to leave a portion of their cargoes, and another company was sent to Running Water for a like purpose. This garrison was now the furthest advanced of any that had been thrown into the Indian country. It was 1,525 miles from St. Louis by water-325 from Fort Laramie to the southwest, and 350 from Fort Ridgeley to the northeast. Its nearest postoffice was at Council City, on the Missouri, 425 miles distant, though one was established that winter at Sergeants Bluff, 100 miles nearer.

The early apprehensions concerning the unsuitableness of Fort Pierre for the purpose for which it had been selected are now fully realized. Captain Turnley, the-e quartermaster, on his arrival, reports that the new post is a gloomy, sterile place-no grass within six miles, no wood within twelve; the huts onestory out of repair, and not worth the expense of repairing; has seen no one authorized to turn over the premises; has no animals except those he has borrowed from the fur company; could take the engine out of the Baird and run the saw mill, if he could get a boiler; is generally disheartened. A board of officers is next assembled to inspect the purchase. They find the whole establishment "in bad order, bad condition and bad repair"; all of the buildings in such a dilapidated condition that they will simply have to be built over again ; the pickets rotted off near the ground and falling down; the saw mill old, worn out, and of very little value. They estimate that it will cost $22,000 to put the establishment into anything approaching the condition called for tinder the agreement of purchase. Then ensued a wordy dispute. Mr. Galpin, the agent of Chouteau, claimed that the company was selling a "trading post" and not a military fort, and that for a trading post it was all it had been represented to

be; that the government has sent more than twice the amount of supplies and number of troops it had agreed to; $3,000 would be an ample allowance for repairs. In the end, the war department paid the full price agreed upon, in sheer disgust at the manner in which it had been duped.

But the inadequacy of the stockade was inconsequential when compared with the utter barrenness of the surrounding country. The fort was delightfully located upon a level plain about 300 feet from the river, and within was reasonably comfortable. Without, was titter desolation. For eight miles below and above the post, on the west side of the river, neither building timber, fuel nor grass could be found that was worth the hauling; on the opposite bank (to cross which was to encounter low water, quicksands and high winds, which last frequently closed navigation entirely for three days at a time) a fair supply of miserable grass could be found ten or twelve miles below, and fuel eight miles above. It would have been difficult to have made a more unfortunate selection. Fort Pierre had no doubt been wisely located in 1830, but its twenty-five years of subsequent occupation had absolutely exhausted the resources of the surrounding country. The statements of Mr. Sarpy, when first approached in St. Louis, as to the suitability of this place for the purposes desired, were fully borne out by the facts; the company had not misrepresented it nor concealed the truth.

Harney Winters at Fort Pierre

General Harney, with his fighting force, arrived on the 19th of October, having marched across from Fort Laramie, skirted the headwaters of the White Earth River," through the Brule country, for one hundred miles, and along the Cheyenne for another hundred. He had found no Indians, but found signs indicating that they had gone toward the headwaters of the Little Missouri and Powder. Deeming it impracticable to penetrate that section so late in the year, he had concluded to go into winter quarters at Fort Pierre. On the 3d of September he had encountered a party of Brules near Ash Hollow, and after a sharp engagement had utterly routed them; the results were eighty-six Indians killed, five wounded, seventy women and children captured, together with all their provisions and camp equipage. Recognizing at once the impossibility of wintering his

command within the fort, he took measures to otherwise dispose of them. The four companies of the Second Infantry, under Major Wessells, were sent to a point on the east bank about five miles above the post," to establish a winter cantonment; two other companies of the Second, with two troops of dragoons, to a point on the east bank eighteen miles above; Major Cady, with four companies of the Sixth Infantry, to a point on the west bank ten miles above, to which he gave the name of Camp Bacon; and Major Howe, with a troop of dragoons and fifty men from the Second Infantry, to a point between the mouth of the White and L'eau-qui-court, to which lie gave the name of Cantonment Canfield. Captain Gardner, with the three companies of the Second, who had located on the east bank seven and onehalf miles above Fort Pierre, also went into winter cantonment (which lie called Cantonment Miller), as did the company at Farm Island. The aggregate of this force was 897 officers and men.

General Harney's report of the situation in December, 1855, is clothed in strong language. He thinks the first arrivals should have lost no time in rendering their position comfortable for the winter; that their disadvantageous position, the dilapidated state of the fort, should have determined them to move on, either tip or down the river, to some spot where wood and grass could hive been found; that five miles further on, on the east bank, he would have found a position adapted to all his wants. "In conclusion," he remarks, "it was unfortunate that the steamers purchased to transport the troops here were entirely too large for the purpose ; it is unfortunate that my orders were disobeyed in that purchase; it is unfortunate the troops did not arrive in this country earlier; it is unfortunate they were stopped here; and most unfortunate of all was the absence of a commander of energy, experience and industry."

On the 25th of April General Harney had been directed to cause a military reservation to be laid off about Fort Pierre of such extent as might be required for public purposes, and this duty was performed by Lieutenant G. K. Warren of the topographical engineers. On account of the limited resources of the surrounding country, he found it necessary to include all the territory between the Antelope and the Chantier. It extended by the river sixteen miles above the post to twelve miles below;

its length east and west was twenty-two and one-half miles, and its breadth north and south twelve and one-half. This gave an area of about 270 square miles, or nearly 175,ooo acres, only about 10,000 of which were of any value. He made a very careful survey of the country, and was disposed to believe that the year was an unusual one, and that longer experience may show it to better advantage. At the site of the fort he found the grass to have been killed by the Indian lodges, and all the cottonwood destroyed in giving the bark to their horses in the winter. The landing was a changing one, as high water frequently put a sand bar in front of the fort a half mile wide ; the boats were obliged to discharge a mile below the fort. He found Galpin and his party, who had vacated Fort Pierre on the arrival of the troops, camped about four miles above the Chantier,"' and Dupuis, with the party from Fort George, on the north side of the mouth of the Cheyenne. He concludes that whatever "may be the comparative defects in the site of Fort Pierre for a military post, it is evident that it is the only one in this part of the country that could be occupied this year as a depot, and the labor that will have been expended before another season comes around may render the removal of the post an affair of doubtful expediency."

Searching for a Site

General Harney, however, was unwilling to expend any money upon the site of Fort Pierre, and much of the winter of 1855-6 was devoted to a careful reconnaissance of the surrounding country, with a view to discovering a better one. Several times he thinks 11e has found it. Under date of January 20, 1856, writing from Ponca Island, in the Missouri, lle thinks that a post on the west side of the Big Sioux is indispensable, and that with a second at a suitable point on the Missouri, there will be no longer necessity for keeping up Forts Riley and Leavenworth. But, returning to Fort Pierre on the 22d of February, he has become fully satisfied that after all Fort Pierre is the best position on the river for a depot; that a large force should be established at some point between Fort Clark and the mouth of the Yellowstone, and another at the headwaters of the Little Missouri, and desires that supplies be forwarded to those points at once. But some two weeks later (March 9th) his mind has undergone a change. He has learned of an insuperable objec-

tion to Fort Pierre as a military position, and that is, that freight cannot be landed within five miles above or three miles below. So he has concluded to remove from Fort Pierre to the site of old Fort Lookout, about twelve miles below the Big Bend; is already enagaged in taking down the cottages and will move as soon as lie can get a steamboat. He has also decided to establish his second position at a point opposite the mouth of Apple Creek, three miles below Heart River and sixty below Fort Clark, and will send a force to that place as soon as the steamers arrive. His next letters are dated June 3oth, and advise the department that he has now no intention of occupying the site near Old Fort Lookout, but has fixed upon a point on the west side of the Missouri, thirty miles above the mouth of the L'eau-qui-court, has caused his stores to be landed there, and will send all the troops from Fort Pierre, except two companies, as soon as possible. He suggests for this post the name of Fort Randall, as a token of respect to the memory of Daniel Randall, late colonel and deputy paymaster general of the army.

It is difficult to reconcile the official reports of General Harney's intentions with his actual performances. It is possible that lie was influenced by conditions which it was impossible for him to anticipate or for us to understand at the distance of nearly half a century, for after advising the department of his abandonment of the plan to establish a post at the site of old Fort Lookout, he seems to have lost no time in sending a garrison there. Companies D and H of the Second Dragoons arrived at that point on the 3d of June, 1856, under the command of Captain Lawrence P. Graham, and remained until the 3d of August, when they were relieved by Companies C and I of the Second Infantry from Fort Pierre, and B and D from Cantonment Miller, with a total strength of 278 officers and men, all under the command of Captain Nathaniel Lyon of the Second Infantry. Captain Lyon's order assuming the command of the post directs that "the name of the station be continued-in the absence of orders to the contrary-as Fort Lookout, by which it will hereafter be known." In a letter dated Fort Lookout, Nebraska Territory, September 1, 1856, Captain Lyon remarks that he is located on an elevation gently sloping toward the river, which runs at a good speed, and affords good landing at the point where the river steamer Goddin lands her freight, and is well

adapted for building without any artificial grading; that timber, fuel and grass are tolerably convenient, and that his nearest postoffice is at Sioux City, Iowa, 200 miles to the south.

Companies C and I left for Fort Randall during the month of August, but E, G, H and K, with Lieutenant Colonel Abercrombie, arrived on the 2d of October; the two first named continuing their march to Fort Randall, leaving the lieutenant colonel with Companies B, 1), H and K, five officers and 245 men, to constitute the garrison during the winter of 1856-7. Colonel Abercrombie reports his march from Fort Pierre to have covered 310 miles, and as having been accomplished in twenty-five days ; that he found the country traversed to be the worst possible, there being scarcely a stick of wood or a water hole from the James to the Missouri. He has no disposition to question the motives of those who sent him to this barren point, but trusts he may not be required to remain there longer than may be necessary to carry out the purposes of the war department.

In the meantime the small garrison at Fort Pierre were patiently awaiting the outcome of the explorations which General Harney had set on foot. It was August before his dispatches had reached Washington, and by this time a new treaty had been made with the Sioux, by which they promised better behavior in future, and the Sioux expedition had been accordingly recalled. General Harney had been told that the department ment agreed with him that the vicinity of the L'eau-qui-court is a proper site for a military post, but that it would not be advisable to attempt to establish a post in advance of Fort Pierre. In the meantime Colonel Francis Lee of the Second Infantry had }: arrived and assumed command of the post, which on the 31st of May numbered nineteen officers and 447 men. But on receipt of these instructions about July 28th, headquarters and Companies B and D left for Fort Lookout, and C and I for the new Fort Randall, leaving A and G, six officers and 169 men, under the command of Captain C. S. Lovell, Second Infantry, who had i arrived during the disbandment of the expedition. Company F of the Second Infantry with Captain Alfred Sully and Second Lieutenant R. F. Hunter with thirty-nine men, joined on the 26th of September, when Company G left for Fort Randall, leaving Captain Lovell with Companies A and F, six officers and 110

men, to form the garrison during the winter of 1856-7, which was to be the last occupation of the old trading post.

Fort Pierre Abandoned

As soon as navigation opened in the spring of 1857, the steamer D. H. Morton was sent up the river from St. Louis, and on the 16th of May Captain Lovell and his men embarked for Fort Randall, taking with them all movable stores and property, and Fort Pierre was as a miltary post finally abandoned.

And this was about the last of it as a visible entity. Messrs. D. M. Frost & Co., who had been trading at this and other frontier posts, were appointed custodians of the United States property at Pierre and Lookout, from which latter post the troops had departed for Fort Randall on the 17th of June, and those people seem to have delayed the exercise of their trust until there was little left to guard.

Frost, who, by the way, is still living near St. Louis, a New Yorker of good family who had graduated in 1844 and won his brevet at Cerro Gordo, and had . resigned from the Mounted Rifles in 1853 to enter upon a mercantile career, was well known to most officers of the ante-bellum period. After leaving the army he entered politics, became a legislator and senator of ll issouri, colonel and general of militia; a visitor to West Point, a writer of some distinction, and a farmer of repute beyond his own horizon. He was among the first to join fortunes with the Confederacy, in whose service he rose to the rank of a brigadier general, and to whose ill-fated cause he contributed the most of his means. His reminiscences of the old army, as General Sheridan used to say, would make "some mighty interesting reading."

Mr. Galpini63_2' of the American Fur Company had contracted to take down and transport to Fort Randall all the cottages and other movable property, but in doing so he seems to have converted about one-half of it to his own purposes, for which irregularity the government retained something more than one-half the contract money. After Galpin had gone, the Indians came in and took what he had left, smashed in the doors, broke the windows, and plugged up the fireplaces; the elements completed the work. When Captain Paige of the quartermaster's department visited the place in November, he found little more than a shell, but this he repaired as best he could. "It has become

necessary," he reports, "to reduce the form of the fort, cutting off one corner of the rectangular form of it, and leaving out the southeastern blockhouse. I have directed Frost & Co. to repair the picketing so as to include the blockhouse, and for that purpose have directed them to use all logs and lumber found in the vicinity of the fort. On visiting Fort Lookout," lie adds, "I found that there was not a single article of any description left there that could be used." But by this time the war department was so thoroughly dissatisfied with its bargain that it was disinclined to have anything more to do with it. "The public should not be subjected to the expense of repairing the buildings or making improvements at Fort Pierre," writes the quartermaster general to Captain Paige, "and no expenditure of its means for this purpose will be allowed."

Then ensued some wordy correspondence; the custodians claiming that the American Fur Company was endeavoring to regain the property, and the latter asserting with equal vehemence that, while it was true that the government was being plundered, it was not being done by the American Fur Company, but by others whom it were unnecessary to name; and in the midst of the controversy the winds and rains were rapidly removing the bone of contention.

Captain W. F. Raynolds of the engineers, who made an exploration of the Missouri and Yellowstone in 1859, held a talk with the Dakota Indians at Fort Pierre on the 18th of June of that year, and on the return from his journey, notes in his diary under date of Septemer lo, 1859: "As we passed old Fort Pierre, I noticed that but little was left of the structure; the remains,. consisting of the shell of one row of houses, and the demolition of this was in progress, the material being used in the new fort" (Randall).

Fort Randall

Fort Randall,' thirty miles above the mouth of the L'eauqui-court, or Niobrara, had now become the successor of all the lesser posts on the upper Missouri, as well as the legatee of the Sioux expedition. It was expected to hold the Sioux tribes to their treaty promises; to keep open the highway between Ridgeley and Laramie, and to act as a base of supplies for operations along the upper Missouri. It had been selected by General Har-

ney after a careful reconnaissance of the surrounding country, and on the 26th of June, 1856, a party of eighty-four recruits of the Second Infantry, under the regimental quartermaster, Lieutenant Geo. H. Paige and First Lieutenant D. S. Stanley of the First Regiment of Cavalry, had landed at the point, laid out the post, and set up the first cottages. In August, Companies C and I of the Second Infantry, and D, E, H and K of the Second Dragoons arrived, under the command of Colonel Francis Lee, and these troops constituted the first garrison. It was located on the second terrace above the river, having at the rear a range of hills perhaps one hundred and fifty feet in height, which at a level a little below their summit spreads out into a third terrace in the nature of a rolling prairie. The post was laid out at a situation nearly half a mile from the river, which at this point is nearly i,ooo yards wide, and navigable for light draft steamboats. Two years later, by the treaty of April 19, 1858, with the Yanktonias, four hundred thousand acres of land to the east and northeast was set apart as an Indian reservation for the Yankton tribes, and later a similar tract to the south about half as large was reserved for the Poncas. Between these two bands of Sioux, Fort Randall stood as a sentinel for nearly half a century.

Colonel Lee and the Second Infantry (from 250 to 300 officers and men) formed the garrison from the date of establishment until the summer of 1859, and during this time the career
of Fort Randall was uneventful. On the 5th of that month, headquarters and Companies E, L and M of the Fourth Artillery, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel John Monroe, followed a few days later by H and I, arrived, and went into camp just below the fort, and on the 16th the companies of the Second infantry marched out and those of the artillery took their places. Then followed another two years of quiet. The Indians were peaceable, devoted to the chase and such agricultural pursuits as the country permitted, and rapidly accommodated themselves to reservation life. They disposed of their furs and hides to the traders much as formerly, though the approach of the settler was gradually driving the buffalo and smaller game to the great forests of the northwest. As has been stated, the American Fur Company, after disposing of the establishment at Fort Pierre to the United States, had moved further up the river and located trading houses at the mouths of the Chantier

and Cheyenne, at both of which points there were Indian villages. About the same time another party, under jo Laframboise, a bois brule, who had served a long apprenticeship to the company along the headwaters of the Mississippi, and had been present in Washington at the signing of the famous treaty with the Sioux on the 29th of September, 1837, which had made possible the creation of Minnesota Territory, had landed on the left bank" about four miles above Fort Pierre, opposite Lost Island, where there was a small village of Oahes, and put up a trading house, which soon became known as Fort Laframboise." But on the whole, the fur trade east of the Rockies was nearing its end. The government had extended its paternal hand over the red man ; the Indian bureau was sending him calicoes and blankets, groceries and trinkets; was driving to him beef cattle by the thousands, and even supplying him with firearms, with which he afterwards fought the government, and with fire-water, which furnished him the courage and incentive to raid the settlements. But all this was in the future; for the present there was nothing but peace and tranquility from the Big Sioux to the Yellowstone.

All the same the world was moving. Fort Pierre and its entourage, which at first was a part of the great Northwest Territory, had changed their allegiance from Louisiana to Missouri, from Missouri to Nebraska, and from Nebraska to Dakota. An act of congress of May 31, 1854, had authorized the erection in midcontinent of two huge territories, and permitted their inhabitants to decide for themselves whether slavery should or should not exist within their limits. This apparently harmless legislation had formed the occasion for one of the greatest political struggles the world has ever seen. While the upper Missouri was enjoying a monotonous peace, its lower banks were noisy with the strife of an irrepressible conflict. The peaceful days that had marked the existence of the garrisons at Pierre and Ridgeley and Randall had ended; the controversy that began at Lecompton and Lawrence was to end only at Appomattox.

The breaking out of the war of the Rebellion found these five companies of the Fourth Artillery still at Fort Randall, and it was quite a little advanced before it was found convenient to relieve all of them. In May, Companies F, I and L had been sent to the east to be mounted as light batteries, leaving H and

M under the command of Captain John A. Brown, a native of Maryland, and counted to be loyal to the union. About all the other officers had either been ordered east, or on various pretexts had managed to get there. It is said that Captain Brown was induced by his wife-an estimable lady of southern birth-against his own inclinations, to cast his fortunes with the Confederacy ; the facts are, that he left his post without permission and was not heard from for several months, or until his resignation reached the war department from a southern city some time in July, 1861. This left the command of the post to the only commissioned officer who remained, Second Lieutenant T. R. Tannatt, and for the following six months this officer and his brave little garrison of something less than one hundred men remained alone and apparently forgotten at this outpost of civilization, surrounded by Indians, whose friendship, at all times doubtful, was made more so by the importunities of Confederate agents, and exposed to dangers far greater than their comrades in the field. It was not until the middle of December, when three companics of the Fourteenth Iowa Volunteers, under the command of Captain Bradley Mlahana, from Iowa City and its neighborhood, came up the river from Sioux City and made camp on the river bottom, that relief came. These two artillery companies were then sent to Louisville, Ky., where they were united to form a light battery, and as such performed most valiant and distinguished service in the Army of the Cumberland during the greater part of the war.

Another Fort Pierre

The demolition of old Fort Pierre, while it removed a prominent landmark, had little or no effect upon the perpetuation of the name as a point of rendezvous. Men journeying from opposite ends of the continent still appointed Fort Pierre as a place of meeting; trappers, traders, emigrants, red men and white men of every degree, continued to talk and write and sing of it as though it were still the busy scene on which George Catlin had looked down on that May morning of 1832, when six thousand friendly Sioux were welcoming old Pierre Chouteau at the landing place; even the government, which had itself issued the man(late that had leveled the walls of the old fort, and had transported its materials to build Fort Randall, one hundred miles away,"

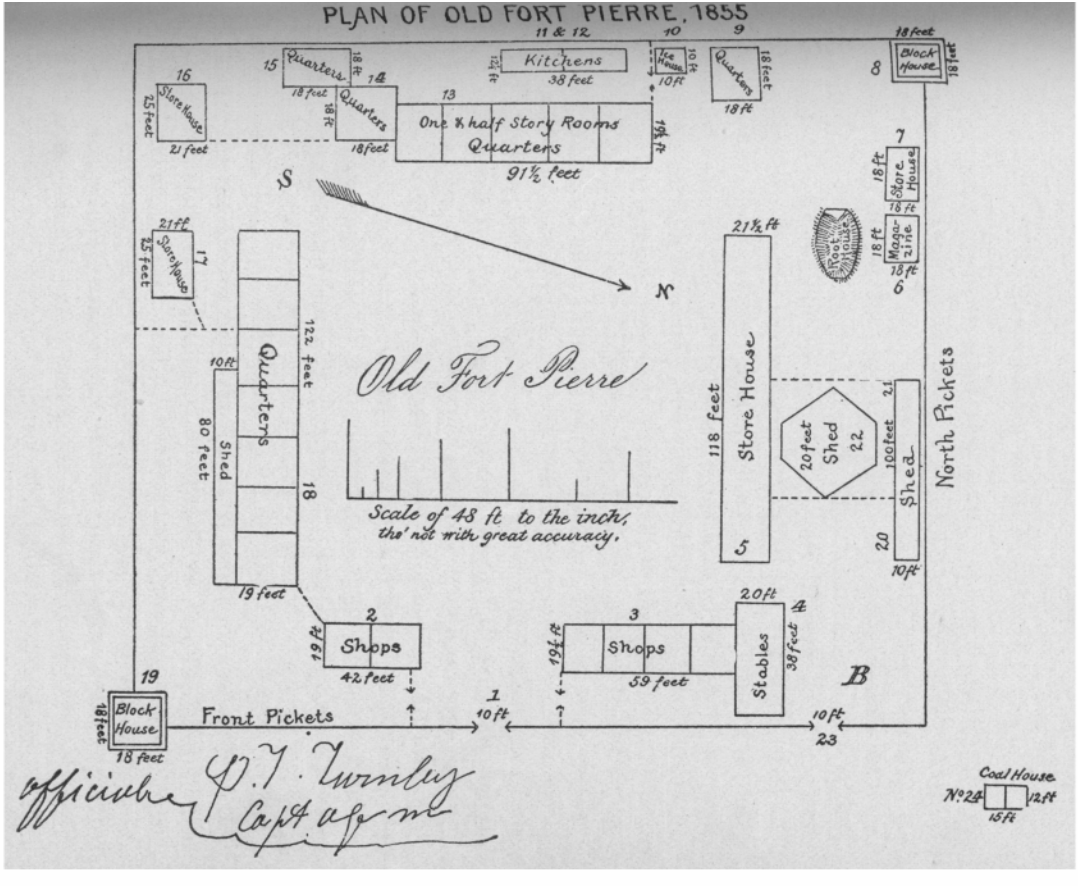
continued to regard it as an absolute and undisturbed substantiality, making it the scene of present and prospective conferences and rendezvous and meetings, and always and everywhere disregarding its non-existence." All this to the confusion of. the present historian, no less than to those who have preceded him. But the truth is that, in the parlance of the prairies, the words "Fort Pierre" were in themselves a phrase. They included anything and everything from the Great Bend to the Cheyenne, and between the Jim river and the Black Hills. A recognition of this fact will explain many otherwise contradictory passages in the history of the plains. "I left St. Louis on the loth of May, 1862," reports Mr. Latta, the agent for the upper Missouri tribes, "in charge of the annuity goods on board the steamer Spread Eagle. We arrived at Fort Pierre on the 27th, where I found from two to three thousand Indians, portions of the several bands of Sioux, awaiting my arrival. In the morning their goods were placed on the shore in seven parcels, conforming as nearly as possible to the population of each ; the Brules, Blackfeet, Sans-Arc, Minnicongies, Unc-pa-pas, Two Kettles and Yanktonias, all being Dakota Sioux." Then ensued a consultation, which because of the event that followed is now historical.

"They stated that they regretted to see me without a military force to protect them from that portion of their several bands who were hostile to the government, and that they were friends to the white men, and desired to live on friendly relations with the government and fulfill their treaty obligations. That General Harnev, at Pierre, in 1856, had promised them aid; that they were greatly in the minority; that that portion of their people opposed to the government were more hostile than ever before ; that they had, year after year, been promised the fulfillment of this pledge, but since none had come, they must now break off their friendly relations with the government and rejoin their respective bands, as they could hold out no longer; that their lives and property were threatened in case they accepted any more goods from the government; that the small amount of annuities given them did not give satisfaction; it created discord rather than harmony, nor would it justify them to come in so far to receive them; that they had been friends to the government and all white men; had lived up to the pledges made at Laramie in 1857, as far as it was possible under the circumstances,

and still wished to do so, but must henceforth be excused unless their Great Father would aid them.

"They requested me to bring no more goods under the Laramie treaty, nor would they receive those present. The same views were expressed by all the speakers, but after a long parley Bear's Rib, a chief of the Sioux nation appointed by General Harney, a brave and good man, rose and said in the most touching manner, that for eleven years he had been the friend of the white man and the government; that for years he had relied upon promises made by General Harney and former agents to send him assistance, yet none had come; that if he received those presents sent his people by his Great Father, he not only endangered his own life, but the lives of all present ; yet he loved his Great Father and would this once more receive for his people the goods present, but closed by requesting me to bring no more unless they could have assistance. A few clays after this delivery, and after I had left, that portion of the SansArc band opposed to any intercourse with the government came in from the prairies, assaulted and killed, within the gates of Fort Pierre, this true man," the best friend the white man had in the Sioux nation. Several others were killed in the affray. Bear's Rib was chief of the Uncpa-pas, and that portion of his band friendly to the government who were present, numbering some 250, are now wandering outcasts in the country."

The scene of this murder, which Mr. Latta locates at Fort Pierre, was actually at the trading post on the left bank, about three miles above the site of old Fort Pierre, which had been established by jo Laframboise in 1857 or 1858, and had been known for a time as Fort Laframboise." It was built on the bluff on the edge of the river, with neither timber nor grass within a mile, and had been selected merely on account of there being a good landing place at that point. It included a store, store-keeper's dwelling, a barrack for the employes, and two smaller houses, all of logs, and the whole surrounded by a stockade of cottonwood pickets, fifteen feet in height with bastions at diagonal corners. This small establishment soon became known as Fort Pierre, though it was a most unworthy and insignificant successor to the original; many of the first settlers in that section never knew any other. To confuse the situation, the island in the river opposite old Fort Pierre is known to this day as


PLAN OF OLD FORT PIERRE, 1855
Old Fort Pierre
Scale of 48 ft to the inch, tho' not with great accuracy.
Kitchens
38 feet
One & half Story Rooms
Quarters
91½ feet
Quarters
Store House
Block House
Store House
Magazine
Store House
118 feet
Shed
20 feet
Shed
100 feet
North Pickets
Quarters
122 feet
Shed
80 feet
19 feet
Shops
42 feet
Shops
59 feet
Stables
38 feet
Block House
18 feet
Front Pickets
10 ft
officiate
P. T. Twinley
Capt. 2d Inf.
Coal House
No 24
12 ft
15 ft

Laframboise Island," while the island opposite the new fort, on which Jo Laframboise used to pasture his chickens, is known as Lost Island. But this is of course merely en passant."

The Sioux Massacres in Minnesota

The growing discontent among the Sioux, growing out of the neglect of the government to fulfill the promises made by General Harney at Fort Pierre in 1856, which were expressed to Agent Latta on the 28th of May, 1862, and more forcibly demonstrated by the murder of Bear's Rib, was rapidly extending, though it was difficult to make any one believe it. Repeated warnings of friendly Indians were laughed at; the whispered reports of trappers and woodmen who were quietly stealing back into civilization, that something serious was on foot, were regarded as the vapid wanderings of a timid fraternity. An outbreak at the Sisseton agency was only prevented by the timely arrival of the troops from Fort Ridgeley; the Indians, balked in their purpose, scattered about the country. On the 17th of August, five persons were murdered at Acton in Meeker county, Minnesota, and this was followed by a series of cruel and barbarous deeds characterized by every savage atrocity and barbarity known to Indian ingenuity. Neither age, sex, nor condition was spared. Within a week from 8oo to i,ooo quiet, inoffensive and unarmed settlers fell victims to savage fury. The town of New Ulm, on the Minnesota River, containing from 1,500 to 2,000 inhabitants, was almost entirely destroyed. Fort Ridgeley was attacked, closely besieged, and was only saved by the heroic and unfaltering bravery of its small band of less than fifty defenders. Meantime the utmost consternation and alarm prevailed throughout the entire community. Thousands of homes were abandoned; every avenue leading to the more densely populated sections was crowded with homeless and distracted fugitives. As rapidly as possible armed men were hurried to the scene from St. Paul and vicinity, but it was some days before any considerable force could be dispatched against the Indians, and in the meanwhile they were escaping to the hills, killing, burning and devastating as they went.

The news of the uprising in Minnesota, as usual in such cases, was the signal for an ominous restlessness on the part of even the ?nort peaceable tribesmen within five hundred miles.

On the 8th of September the governor of Iowa telegraphed the secretary of war that the Yanktons, on his western borders, had joined the hostiles; that the settler. were fleeing by thousands; that danger wa. imminent, and prompt action alone could save a terrible massacre. Similar telegrams came in from the governors of Nebraska and Dakota. There was a regiment under organization at Des Moines, and these men were hurried to Sioux City; the militia of Nebraska and Dakota were called into the field; settler. were fleeing in every direction ; every road wa. lined with terror-stricken families, fleeing from a danger that to the most of them was wholly nebulous. On the. 12th the panic had reached Kansas. The governor summoned every ablebodied citizen to organize for home defense, and called upon the war department for five thousand stand of arm.. By the i5th of September a large majority of the settlers of eastern and southern Dakota, a. well as northwest Iowa, had congregated at Sioux City. All had left in great haste, leaving their stock uncared for, their crops unharvested, in short, had abandoned all their earthly possessions. Bon Homme, Vermillion, and in fact every town and settlement in Dakota was deserted, so that every white man left in the Territory wa. at Fort Randall or at the Yankton agency, which was being hurriedly fortified. Lieutenant Colonel Nutt, a very bright and observing aide of Governor Kirkwood, who had been .ent to the scene of disturbance, write. from Sioux City on the i5th of September that he has every rea.on to believe that a general Indian war is imminent. He add.: "I saw, while at Sioux City, Captain Lu Barje,"' who had just returned with his boat from the upper '{issouri. Captain Lu Barje has been in the American Fur Company's employment for twenty-five years, and says that never before this trip have the Indians been unusually hostile. He says the whole Sioux Nation i. bound for a war of extermination against the frontier, but says they will not come to Sioux City, but go down by Fort. Laramie and Kearney and beyond. Captain Lu Barje says that the British government, through the Hudson Bay Company, are, in hi. opinion, instigating all these Indian. to attack the white.. He says British rum, from Red River, comes over onto the Mi.-souri River, and British traders are among them continually. I have great confidence in his judgment and opinion. He says there are at present no Indian. within three hundred miles of

Sioux City, on the Missouri River, but that government must send a force and punish these Minnesota Indians, or the whole western frontier, from St. Paul to New Mexico, will be attacked; but if those are punished, lie thinks the rest will be all good Indians, and no danger." In the meantime, all southeastern Minnesota was aroused, and the hastily summoned troops under Sibley were on the trail of the fugitives, who were making rap
ey idly for the Dakota frontier.

Sibley Pursues Them

Colonel 11. H. Sibley, to whom had been intrusted the pursuit and punishment of Little Crow and his diabolical band,was perhaps the best known, and certainly the most popular, man in the northwest for more than the decade preceding the Civil War. He had been a woodsman, trapper, a hunter of big game, an ,attache and then a partner of the American Fur Company, by means of which lie had acquired a handsome competency. Then he had gone into politics as a diversion ; spent a term in congress as a representative from Wisconsin and two more from Minnesota; the latter so satisfactorily, that he was transferred `to the gubernatorial chair at St. Paul. After two terms lie declined a re-election, refused, as well, to don the senatorial toga, and, tired of worldly honors, built him a magnificent establishment at Mendota, the first stone house in Minnesota, and retired =to live out his clays as a country gentleman. This was where the news of the infamous deeds of the Dakota Sioux found hi-ii, about 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the 21st of August. Springing into the saddle, he rode into St. Paul, where lie met Governor 'Ramsey, who gave him the necessary authority ro pursue the murderers; gathered a party of twenty-five horsemen--all he could find who were prepared to start at a moment's notice--and before daylight of the 22d was on the road to Ridgeley. Within ;less than five weeks he had organized a force of 1,500 men. marched 250 miles, corralled the Indians near the Yellow Medicine, where he attacked and soundly whipped them on the 23d of September, leaving the most active of the warriors dead on the field. Two clays later lie rounded up the balance and captured something over 2,000, with all their property, the most of which had been stolen from the settlers. Little Crow managed to escape with about 300 of his followers, but was ultimately

chased into the Black Hills and killed without much mercy. In course of time the ringleaders were tried by military commission, found guilty and sentenced to hang, but through the sympathy of the president all but about forty of them managed to escape a penalty so thoroughly deserved.

Fort Thompson

If we have wandered for a moment from the immediate vicinity of Fort Pierre, it is that we may the more readily return to it. The old scene is about to take on a renewed life; to awaken once more at the shrill notes of the reveille, and start into action at the sound of "boots and saddles." The uprising in Minnesota had created a new ground of hatred of the red man, and a determination to give him no quarter in the future. The effect of their outrages was naturally to incense the white people of Minnesota against, not only the individual perpetrators and their tribes, but against all Indians within their borders. This sentiment found expression in the act of congress of February 21, 1863, whereby the president was authorized to remove the Winnebagos from Minnesota to unoccupied lands beyond the limits of any state. In the carrying out of this law it was determined to locate them, together with the Mississippi Sioux, on the Missouri River at some point within one hundred miles of Fort Randall, where they might be secure from any danger or intrusion from the whites. Mr. Clark W. Thompson, the very efficient superintendent of Indian affairs for what was called the northern superintendency, who had been sent forward to select the location, assisted by Agent Burleigh and some officers from Fort Randall, examined the surrounding country and finally fixed upon the mouth of Crow Creek, about midway between Fort Randall and Fort Pierre, and there, on the 3oth of May, 1863, they landed the Indians, 3,250 in number, and their belongings, and- laid off their reservation. Assisted by a detail of sixty soldiers from Fort Randall, they erected all necessary agency buildings within a square of about 400 by 300 feet, which they surrounded by a stockade of cottonwood logs. A company of volunteers from the Sixth Iowa Cavalry was left as a guard, which was joined later by a second company, and these, with the ordinary white employes and camp followers, made tip a community that formed one of the largest in the territory. Although offi-

cially known at Washington as the Winnebago or Crow Creek Agency, the stockaded character of the establishment, assisted perhaps by the disposition of all frontier people to identify points of rendezvous by the name of fort, soon caused it to become locally known as Fort Thompson, no doubt in compliment to its energetic founder, and as "old Fort Thompson" it still appears on the maps.'

Thirty years after, in a pamphlet of local circulation which I have happened upon by chance, an old Iowa cavalryman, who marched with Sully in 1863, is thus minded to recall his visit -to the Winnebago settlement in 1864. It is the only photograph we shall ever have of old Fort Thompson :

"It is laid out in a square some three hundred feet each way. Around the whole square was dug a ditch some three feet deep, and the same width. In this are set cedar pickets fifteen feet long, which leave • them twelve feet above ground. On the west side are two stores and one warehouse, just coming out flush with the pickets. On the north side is the Winnebago school house, the interpreter's quarters, the agent's quarters, and the doctor's quarters. On the corner were barracks for soldiers. On the east side are the boarding house, blacksmith, wagonmaker's and carpenter shops. On the south side are the Sioux buildings, one doctor's quarters, two agents' quarters, the three interpreters' quarters, and four school houses, and on the corner. barracks for soldiers. On the northwest and southeast corners are bastions outside of the pickets. The pickets are sawed on three sides, the outsides being left rough. Holes for guns were made some eight feet from the ground and about twelve feet apart. On the north and south sides are each a gate, made of the same kind of material as the pickets. The saw mill is on the west side of the fort and about fifteen rods from it in the edge of the timber. Still further on in the timber are the Indian wigwams. The river is about half a mile from the fort and pretty heavy timber. It is situated on a beautiful plain, and in a fine place for defense. Such is Crow Creek as I saw it."

The Sioux Campaign of 1863

We left Little Crow fleeing from the battlefield of Wood

From "Three Years Among the Indians in Dakota," by J. H. Drips, sergeant Company L, Sixth Iowa Cavalry. (Kimball, S. D., 1894.)

Lake, where Sibley had administered such a drubbing as was to free Minnesota for all the future from all dread of the redman. This was about the 25th of September. With about three hun_ dred warriors he followed up the Minnesotas as far as the Lacqui-parle, where he struck for the Dakota line, which he crossed at about the location of the present town of Elkton, in Brookings county, where the Burlington & Cedar Rapids railway crosses the Chicago & North-Western; thence following nearly due west along what was known forty years ago as the Medary trail, and avoiding the settlements, he crossed the James at about the present site of Huron, in Beadle county, and made camp not far from the headwaters of Crow Creek. From this point lle sent a messenger to the Yanktons, many of whom had left their reservation near Fort Randall, and to the tribes on the upper Missouri. On the 24th of December Governor Jayne of Dakota, telegraphed the president that Little Crow, White Lodge, Sleepy Eyes, Pawn and Bighead, with from 500 to i,ooo Santee and Yankton warriors, are on the Missouri above Fort Pierre preparing for an early spring campaign against the whites; that they are burning, robbing, murdering, and driving out every person in that region, and that the whole territory is in a condition of terror." This was the first intimation that Little Crow had succeeded in gaining accessions to his murderous company. Op the 27th of December, thirty-eight of those captured at Wood Lake were hanged at Mankato, and the news, which was carried with the speed of the wind to Little Crow, simply infuriated him. From this moment he vowed an unrelenting war against the race, and before spring had opened he had killed or driven every white person from the territory.

In the early stages of the Indian uprising General John Pope, who had been more or less of a failure at the head of the Army of Virginia, had been sent to the scene of the disturbances, and given the new department of the northwest, a command more in harmony with his undoubted military and executive ability. Pope lost much time in setting his Dakota campaign in motion; perhaps no more than was necessary, as the troops and wagon trains were slow in getting to him and the winter was an uncommonly severe one. His plan was for Sibley to move in two columns, each of 2,500 men, and six pieces of artillery, the one from the mouth of Yellow Medicine along a line due west, the second

along the Big Sioux west by south ; both to push forward cautiously and scour the valley of the James. It was believed that Little Crow was in the vicinity of Devil's Lake, but would be moving south as soon as the grass was high enough to feed his animals. Sibley was to engage him, if possible, if not, to drive him toward the \lissouri. At the same time a third column, under John Cook, an Illinois colonel, who had just been made a brigadier general, and sent to bring order out of the chaos at Sioux City, was to move up the Missouri from Fort Randall, so as to intercept the Indian retreat. It is possible that these plans, if carried out, would have speedily ended the campaign. Why they were not, it is difficult to say. To the ordinary observer of today, who has merely the official documents to guide him, the whole campaign looks very much like a blunder. It may have been a stroke of genius. It depends, no doubt, upon the point of view. After much backing and filling, angry correspondence, and petulant, if not querulous, fault-finding, Sibley got away from Fort Ridgeley on the 23d of June, 1863, with 2,000 infantry, 8oo cavalry, and some mountain howitzers, and marched direct for Devil's Lake. where Little Crow had been some months earlier, but where he had not been for some time.

Cook, after leading his column as far as Randall, had been superseded by Alfred Sully, a regular officer of excellent repute, who had been made a colonel of Minnesota infantry, and promoted to a brigade in September, 1862, and Sully, with 2,000 cavalry and 325 infantry, left Randall about the same time for Fort Pierre, which he had fixed upon as the site for a depot of supplies. Stilly's troops were made up from the Forty-first Iowa Infantry (mounted), the Sixth Iowa Cavalry and one company of the Seventh, the Second Nebraska Cavalry, two companies of Dakota cavalry and a detachment of the Thirtieth Wisconsin Sibley had the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Minnesota Infantry, the First Minnesota -Mounted Rangers and the Third Minnesota Battery, 2,800 all told, most of them raw levies, indifferently equipped and hastily organized. Sibley had begged for a stronger force and more cavalry, insisting that the Indians outnumbered him, were well mounted, and a formidable foe at all times; were doubly so under the present conditions. Pope was surprised at this timidity; lie had never known so large a body of troops having been assembled' for Indian operations: in

fact, it was as large as one-half the old army before the war, So far from having too little force he thought Sibley had more troops than he needed; he outnumbered the Indians many times. Sully's slow movements and deliberation were equally amazing to Pope. He is surprised and disappointed at his delay, and sees no excuse for it. It is painful for him to find fault, but he is driven to it. The spring has opened and passed; summer is well advanced; June and July have gone, and August nearly so, before anything has been done toward crushing the insignificant force under Little Crow.

The truth was, the task that had been assigned to Sibley and Sully was no common one. No such concentration of force had ever been made by the savages of North America, as that which confronted us on the plains of Dakota in the summer of 1863. The remnant of the bands who escaped with Little Crow, themselves the most daring and merciless of their tribes, had successively visited the Sissetons, the Cut-heads, the Yanktons, and finally the Chank-ton-ais,'=' the most powerful band of the Dakotas, and together with nearly every young warrior of all these tribes had formed a camp of nearly, if not quite, 10,000 fighting men and 15,000 to 20,000 horses. These savage warriors of the plains had in the great majority never been met in battle by American soldiers. A few of the old men could remember Harney and Ash Hollow, but their tales were not believed. They had boasted that no hostile army, however numerous, would dare set foot upon the soil of Dakota, of which they claimed to be the undisputed masters. General Pope had been badly informed. Had Sibley moved when he had expected him to do so he would have undoubtedly been annihilated. Had Sully cut away from his wagons early in July, as Pope had directed, he would never have needed them again. As it was, nothing more strategic than a combination of fortuitous circumstances, saved both columns from crushing defeat.

Sibley Crosses Dakota

Sibley found, as he had expected, that there were no Indians at Devil's Lake. With 1,400 infantry and 500 cavalry, he left Camp Atkinson on the 21st of July and moved west-southwest to the James, crossed the Grand Coteau and made for the Missouri. A line drawn west by south from the present town of

Minnewaukon in Benson county, to Bismarck, will closely follow the route of Sibley's column in 1863. On the 24th he ran into a party of some 1,000 to 1,500 Indians on the prairie near a salt lake where he was about to make camp, and without giving him time to prepare they were upon him. His guns were loaded with spherical case and shrapnel and poured into the yelling column of painted demons, and a gallant charge won him the battle of Big 'Mound. Two days later lie repeated the tactics of Dead Buffalo Lake, and on the 28th fought the battle of Stony Lake, which won him his brevet, and drove the enemy across the Missouri in the direction of the Black Hills. Sibley went into camp on Apple Creek at a point about three miles below the present site of Bismarck, still known as Burnt Boat Island, and there waited ten days for Sully. He had made a march of more than 6oo miles, in a season of fierce heat and unprecedented drought, routed the enemy in three engagements and driven him across the Missouri. Although Sibley's description of his route would no doubt be interesting reading for the good people who have since found delightful homes in that very section, a paragraph must suffice.

"The region traversed by my column between the first crossing of Cheyenne River and the Coteau of the Missouri, is for the most part uninhabitable. If the devil were permitted to select a residence upon the earth, he would probably choose this particular district for an abode, with the redskins' murdering and plundering bands as his ready ministers, to verify by their ruthless deeds his diabolical hate to all who belong to a Christian race. Through this vast desert, lakes fair to the eye abound, but generally their waters are strongly alkaline or intensely bitter and brackish. The valleys between them frequently reek with sulphurous and other disagreeable vapors. The heat was so intolerable that the earth was like a heated furnace, and the breezes that swept along its surface were as scorching and suffocating as the famed Sirocco. Yet, through all these difficulties, men and animals toiled on until the objects of the expedition were accomplished."

Failing to learn anything of Sully's whereabouts, and deeming it inadvisable to follow the Indians into the Black Hills, which, from all accounts, were something infinitely worse than the country he had just traversed, he lost no time in returning

to Minnesota, leaving the unfinished task to Sully, who, he had no doubt, was near at hand with fresh and well-mounted troops. Sibley had accomplished all that was possible for him, and more than Pope had any right to expect. His men were all Minnesota farmers, willing to defend their own state, but under no obligations to spend the fall chasing Indians across the continent, while their own crops were waiting to be harvested. Sibley professed to believe that by his three insignificant victories he had broken the back of the insurrection. As a matter of fact, he had merely scratched its epidermis; for as soon as his back was turned toward home, the Indians recrossed the Missouri, and in a week were back on their old hunting grounds, having met and massacred a party of twenty-four men and women on their way.

Sully at Fort Pierre

Sully had not been able to get away from Sioux City as soon as expected. The Sixth Iowa Cavalry had left on the 18th of May and established the depot at Fort Pierre as early as the 4th of June; but it was sixty days later before the entire expedition had assembled. General Sully, in person, had left Sioux City on the i8th of June, and Fort Randall on the loth of July, with a column of about 1,200 cavalry, 325 infantry and 120 wagons. His orders were to follow up the Missouri to the point nearest to Devil's Lake, where the Indians were supposed to be concentrated, and then to cross the country to cut off the retreat of the Indians, who by that time it was expected Sibley would be driving towards the Missouri. At the same time, in order to quiet the apprehensions of the people of Nebraska, a portion of his column was to move tip the south side of the Missouri, joining the main body at the point of departure. Sully was rationed for four months, his rations being carried on steamboats, which accompanied him up the river. Having reached the point of departure, lle was to load his rations on his wagons, crit loose from his base, and move toward Devil's Lake with the utmost celerity. To Pope, at Milwaukee, these plans appeared so simple and feasible, that in his letters to General Halleck lie already felicitated himself on their happy accomplishment, and inquired what he should do with the Indians after lie had corralled them.

From Randall to the mouth of the Little Cheyenne, which Sully had fixed upon as the point where he would leave the river,

is a trifle under three hundred miles by water, and from fifty to sixty more by land." With his troops on both sides of the river, and impeded by heavy roads, with mud to the hubs of his teams, his progress was naturally restricted to the pace of his infantry, so that it was the 25th of July before he reached Fort Pierre, where his advance had been waiting since the 4th of June.

The point at which Sully established his depot was on the left bank opposite Lost Island, at the old trading post that had been built by Laframboise' in 1857. The "fort" stood on the bluff, several hundred feet from the underbrush which lined the course of the river, in the midst of a plain that was absolutely barren of vegetation, even of the short grass that covers everything elsewhere in that section. The establishment comprised a store and storekeeper's house and a long building about 50x20, then occupied by one company of the Forty-first Iowa Infantry, the whole surrounded by cottonwood pickets standing about twelve feet out of ground and sunk to a depth of three or four, the usual bastion in the form of blockhouses at diagonal corners. Sully used the enclosure to store some of his supplies; there was very little room for them there, and he decided to leave the bulk of them on board the boats. The Sixth Iowa Cavalry made their camp on the river bottom under the bluff below the fort, and the Second Nebraska above it. He also left a company of the Seventh Iowa at the site of old Fort Pierre, three miles below.

The expedition moved out of the camp at Fort Pierre on the 14th of August, with a troop of cavalry in the advance, followed ey the general and his staff and escort (which at this time was Company I of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry), a battery of five mountain howitzers, his wagon train, flanked by the Second Nebraska on the left and the Sixth Iowa on the right, the ambulances and rear guard. Two days later he reached the mouth of the Little Cheyenne, when he was compelled to wait for his rations, which had started on the Belle Peoria on the 12th, but had been delayed on account of low water. The steamboat arrived on the 19th, but a severe hail storm on the 20th stampeded his animals and destroyed all the rations that had been loaded into the wagons, besides soaking the roads and rendering travel almost impossible. He managed to get away on the afternoon of the 21st and followed tip the Little Cheyenne as far as Bois Cache. Here lie left the river and crossed the prairie to the foot

of Long Lake, where he first heard that Sibley had finished his campaign and returned to Minnesota. This was anything but encouraging, but there was nothing to do but push ahead. On the 3d of September his scouts reported an Indian encampment a few miles in advance of the column, which turned out to be a portion of the party that had been chased across the Missouri by Sibley and had returned along his trail and located themselves in fancied security in the ravines around Long Lake. Sully reports that the party numbered not less than 1,500, including Santees, Cut-heads, Yanktonais, Blackfeet and Uncapapas. He had ten miles to go to reach them, and although the distance was covered at a gallop, and his troops engaged at a dozen points, the enemy had plenty of time to scatter, and, night coming on, he was compelled to abandon the pursuit. This, Sully calls the battle of White Stone Hill, and it happened in sight of a hill on the open prairie near the headwaters of Elm Creek and about fifteen miles west of the James River. He lost one officer and seventeen men killed, one officer and thirty-four men wounded, and thinks he must have killed fully one hundred of the Indians; his prisoners included thirty-two men and one hundred and twenty-four women.

The Campaign Ended

Ascertaining from his scouts that the enemy had vanished, and finding that his rations were barely sufficient to enable him by rapid marches to reach Fort Pierre, he took up his return march on the 6th of September, and finding his boats waiting at the mouth of the Little Cheyenne, he loaded his wagons and wounded and returned along the river road to Fort Pierre, where he arrived on the 14th, and went into winter camp. And this ended the Sioux campaign of 1863.

Pope had written Stilly most impatiently on the 25th of August: "It is painful for me to find fault," he writes, "nor do I desire to say what is unpleasant, but I feel bound to tell you frankly that your movements have greatly disappointed me, and I can find no satisfactory explanation of them. As soon as you receive this letter you will please cross to the south side of the Missouri, and having loaded your wagons with provisions and ammunition and such medical supplies as are absolutely needed, you will make a thorough campaign in Nebraska, proceeding as

far to the west and northwest as possible before the winter overtakes you. It is desirable that some cavalry force be stationed this winter at Fort Pierre, or in that neighborhood, and provision should be made accordingly. You will please send the necessary orders to the proper officer of your district for this purpose. Your command will occupy Fort Pierre or the neighborhood, Fort Randall and Sioux City for the winter, as also such points to the east of Sioux City as will effectually secure the settlements in Dakota and the border settlements of Iowa."

And again, on the 31st of that month, he writes that he had intended to say "Dakota" in his letter of the 25th instead of Nebraska. "It is my purpose," lie adds, "that you move froni Fort Pierre to the Black I-Tills, and thence north and northwest as far as practicable before the cold weather begins. These movements, as far as their direction is concerned, will depend, of course, upon the locality of the hostile Indians, but it is your special mission to deal finally, if possible, with the hostile Sioux driven across the Missouri River by General Sibley, and to prevent in all events their return to the borders of Minnesota in any large force. If you follow them and press them closely they will, no doubt, in their present destitute condition, seek to make terns with you."

He cannot leave the subject, however, without again expressing his opinion of Sully's procrastination : "Your presence on the upper Missouri in time to have co-operated with General Sibley would probably have ended Indian troubles, by destroying or capturing the whole body of Indians which fought General Sibley, but your failure to be in proper position at the proper time, however unavoidable, renders it necessary that you should prosecute with all vigor and dispatch the campaign I have marked out for you."

Fort Sully Built

By the time Sully received these dispatches he had finished his campaign and was settling his command for the winter. Whatver he may have thought of Pope's opinions and rebukes he neglected to put on record. Those who recall the choice vocabulary of expletives which General Sully always carried about with him, will have no difficulty in supplying the link that must be forever missing to this narrative. In looking about for

the best point to establish his post he fixed upon Farm Island,'° about midway between old Fort Pierre and old Fort George ; in fine, at the very point where General Harney had posted Sully himself when a captain of the Second Infantry in 1857, and to whom, no doubt, it recalled agreeable memories. There is not much to be said for it from an architectural point of view. It was built of logs, as indeed was everything else of the nature of shelter in that section ; a few buildings to store the equipage and rations and cover the heads of four companies; a stockade of cottonwood logs ; a blockhouse, with port holes for the howitzers. On the 13th day of October it was pronounced ready for a company, and its garrison marched in; headquarters and three companies of the Thirtieth Wisconsin; three companies of the Sixth and three of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry, all under the com mand of Lieutenant Colonel E. M. Bartlett of the Thirtieth Wisconsin, who, in his order assuming the command, announces that the post is to be known as Fort Sully, "in compliment to our brave commander, Brigadier General Alfred Sully, U. S. Volunteers, now commanding the District of Iowa and Dakota." Again are we indebted to Sergeant Dripps for a glimpse of the first Fort Sully, and this is how it looked to him in November, 1863:

"In conclusion, I will just add a word of description in regard to Fort Sully and the winter quarters of our regiment, and close. Sully is situated on a plain or bottom of the Missouri River, on the east side, about eighty rods from the river. It is opposite or a little above Farm Island." It is built on two sides, east and west, with barracks; on the north and south with pickets. The buildings are of cottonwood logs, unhewn, and are about seven or eight feet high, covered over with logs and brush and then earth thrown over them. The pickets are the same material, set into the ground about three feet, standing out some twelve feet above ground. The fort is 270 feet square, and there are bastions on the southeast and northwest corners, in which are placed cannon for the defense of the fort. This is pretty well fixed for defense, and cannot be taken very easily by the Indians, and is a good place for defense. Such is the fort that we helped build last summer, taking a great deal of time and labor, and which was by some set down as sheer folly. But

be that as it may, it will be a memorial of the labors of the Indian expedition tinder General Sully."

It remains to dispose of the balance of Sully's troops for the winter of 1863-4, a winter that has gone into meteorological history as one of the severest that ever visited Dakota. The Second Nebraska Cavalry, being nine months' men, had reached the end of their enlistment by the time of the return of the expedition, and had been sent home to be mustered out; Company K of the Sixth Iowa Cavalry was stationed at Fort Thompson, at Crow Creek; Companies A, D, G and L at Fort Randall ; Company M at Vermillion; Company I at Spirit Lake; Company F at Tackets; while Companies C, B, F and H, with I of the. Seventh, accompanied General Sully to Sioux City. Tripp's troops of Dakota cavalry went into camp opposite Fort Randall, and Miner's troop watched the reserve at Yankton.

As for old Fort Pierre, it had again lapsed into the mere trading post for which it had been erected.' All the military supplies that had been stored at that point had been removed to Fort Sully, and this latter post now became the base of future military operations in that section. And here we leave Fort Pierre, not because its story has been exhausted, but rather that the latter chapters of its history belong to the civil development of the territory. We are not presuming to write the history of Dakota, though the abundance of material is such as to tempt the historian, nor of the campaigns by which the Sioux were finally convinced of the titter futility of resistance, and thrashed into submission. It would be interesting to watch the disappearance of the old trading house; the coming of the surveyor; the land agent; the tax collector; the town meeting, and all the various processes of evolution through which a thousand frontier posts have been transformed into the towns and cities that dot the plains of America from ocean to ocean. But, as Kipling would say-that is another story.

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EDITORIAL NOTES ON
Old Fort Pierre and Its Neighbors

By CHARLES E. DE LAND

'**No Military Protection**-The supposition that Fort Pierre was sustained by the military is erroneous. No military force was ever stationed at or near old Fort Pierre until General Harney was sent to that point in 1855 on the first Sioux expedition. The Leavenworth expedition of 1823 was sent out from Fort Atkinson (sixteen miles above the site of Omaha) against the Aricarees, who had in 1823 attacked General Ashley in the Grand River country some 150 miles above where Fort Pierre was afterwards built. And when the movements under General Harney were ended in 1858, or thereabouts, the career of old Fort Pierre as the great monument of the fur trade of the region of which it was the center was practically ended, though operations in that trade were continued on a smaller scale until about 1863.

Druillard Not a Partner-The partners of Lisa were William Morrison and Pierre Menard, of Kaskaskia, Illinois, as Lisa, Menard & Morrison. Menard had been associated with St. Louis parties before that time, in the fur business. Druillard was, however, one of the principal aids of Lisa, and with Colter (who was met at the mouth of the Platte and was prevailed upon to join Lisa's party and return up the Missouri with them) constituted the chief reinforcements in the pioneering of the expedition into the Yellowstone country. (See Chittenden's "American Fur Trade," vol. 1, pp. 114-19, 138, note.)

'**Fort Manuel**-Also known as Fort Lisa, or Manuel's Fort. It was erected at the junction of the Yellowstone and Big Horn rivers, on the south bank of each. It was the first American trading post established upon the upper rivers.

'**Not the American Fur Company**-This is erroneous, as to the name of the company, though authority existed for referring to the organization by that name. It is not improbable that the author bases his statement upon an item found in Billon's "Annals of St. Louis," published in 1888, wherein, under the head of "Historical Items" from the St. Louis Gazette, this statement appears on page 33: "1809-Early in this year, Wm. Clark, Manuel Lisa and Silvestre Labadie formed a copartnership

under the title of the American Fur Company, with a capital of $27,000$9,000 each, to trade with the Indian tribes, in the upper Missouri to the mountains." The real name of the company was St. Louis, Missouri, Fur Company, or as it was commonly known, Missouri Fur Company. This is shown by a subsequent entry in Billon (page 123) of a newspaper item under date of 1812, headed "Missouri Fur Company," stating the capital at $50,000, and adding: "Silvester Labbadie, Wm. Clark and Manuel Lisa, the old company, hold $27,000 in goods, etc., up the Missouri River. Subscriptions desired for the remaining $23,000." Dated February 1, 1812. The original incorporators of the St. Louis, Missouri, Fur Company were: Benjamin Wilkinson, Pierre Chouteau, Sr., Manuel Lisa, Auguste Chouteau, Jr., Reuben Lewis, William Clark, Sylvester Labadie, all of St. Louis; Pierre Menard and William Morrison, of Kaskaskia, Illinois; Andrew Henry, of Louisiana, Missouri, and Dennis FitzHugh, of Louisville, Kentucky.*

In a subsequent note to this article will be given a succinct account of the origin of the American Fur Company.

Location of Fort Manuel-Chittenden (vol. 3, p. 956) states that this post "was on the west bank of the river-just above latitude 46° N." or north of the northern boundary of South Dakota.

"Fort Clarke, the great trading post at which the Mandans, Minitaras, Gros Ventres, Assinaboines, and other tribes in that vicinity traded, was established some twenty-two years later (1831) on the west side of the Missouri about 55 miles above Bismarck and some eight miles below the mouth of the Big Knife River; it stood about 80 to 90 paces from the bank of the river, and about 300 paces below the Mandan village on that side, and was about three-quarters of a mile below and on the opposite bank of the river from old Fort Mandan established by Lewis and Clarke. Fort Clarke was named for General William Clarke, of the Lewis and Clarke expedition. It was built by or under the supervision of James Kipp, a Canadian of German descent, for the American Fur Company. It was 132 by 147 feet, and substantially built. In the wooded bend some three miles below was the lower Mandan village. The third Mandan village in that locality was on the east bank and a little above Fort Clarke, as stated; and there the Lewis and Clarke party built Fort Mandan in the winter of 1804-5, the official report stating that it "is situated in a point of low ground, on the north side of the Missouri, covered with tall and heavy cottonwood." There were two rows of sheds forming an angle, each row containing four rooms 14 feet square; the general inclosure being otherwise palisaded, there being two storerooms within it.

Precisely the spot where Lisa built the post mentioned in the text is matter of some speculation, but it was probably in the immediate

*Billon states, from "Gazette Items," in 1820, that the Missouri Fur Company was organized with Manuel Lisa as president, and by Thomas Hempstead, Joshua Pilcher, Joseph Perkins, Andrew Woods, Moses B. Carson, Jno. B. Zenoni, Andrew Drips and Robert Jones (p. 68). This was probably a reorganization of the company.

vicinity of the later Fort Clarke; yet Chittenden states that what he calIs "Lisa's Fort" was the next post to be built in the locality of Fort Mandan after the latter was established, and that it stood on the southwest bank of the Missouri "ten or twelve miles above the mouth of the Big Knife near where the names Emanuel Rock and Emanuel Creek now are that it was abandoned in the war of 1812, but was occupied by Pilcher in 1822 or 1823 as Fort Vanderburgh. This would be about twenty miles above where Fort Clarke was permanently established. Kipp is said to have come to the site of Fort Clarke in 1822 "when there was no post." Major Pilcher is said to have been a proprietor of the Missouri Fur Company in 1822 and to have directed a post to be built "a little above the Minnitaree villages" on the south side of the Missouri, which was abandoned in 1823.* And Kipp is said to have begun in 1822 "a fort on the prairie which lay between the future Fort Clark and `the forest in which the inhabitants of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Cush live in the winter,'" which was completed that year. And this winter location of the Mandans is stated to have been "about a league below Fort Clarke," referring to the permanent establishment. Chittenden elsewhere says that Kipp "was in a sense the founder of Fort Clark in that he established a post in that vicinity from which Fort Clark evolved in the course of a few years." (See Coues' Larpenteur's "Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Mis souri," vol. 1, pp. 142-3; Chittenden's "American Fur Trade of the Far West," vol. 1, pp. 389-90, vol. 3, p. 957; Lewis and Clarke's Travels, vol. 1, p. 176, London edition of 1815; Maximilian's Travels, pp. 318-19, 323, 394. The reference to Maximilian is from the note to Larpenteur, p. 142. Brackenridge's "Journal of a Voyage Up the Missouri River," Balto. 1816, pp. 179, 180, 185, 203, 246. Brackenridge's "Views of Louisiana," Balto. 1817, p. 175.)

7**Location of Gros Ventres**-It should be noted that Major Wilson, all

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*Brackenridge, who went up the Missouri River with Lisa in 1811 as far as "the Mandan villages," says that on July 26 after passing "all five of the Mandan villages," they reached "the fort of the Missouri Company, which is situated above all the villages, and sixteen hundred and forty miles from the mouth of the Missouri, and in latitude 47° 13' N." That the fort stood about 200 yards from the bank of the river, and was "a small triangular inclosure, with bastions." He sloes not state on which side of the river it stood. That the nearest of the villages below was "about six miles off." That Lisa established trading establishments "at the Mandans, Arikaras, and with the Sioux." In his edition of 1816, page 246, Brackenridge gives a table of distances, and of locations on either bank of the Missouri, of various leading landmarks, where it appears that the "Mandan Village" is 1600 miles, and the "Company's Fort" 1640 miles above the mouth of the Missouri; the village is designated as on the "S. W." side of the river, there being no indication as to which side of the river the fort is located; and one of the two "Old Mandan" villages is placed 40, the other 80 miles below the "Mandan Village," all appearing to be on the "S. W." side of the river.

through this article, seems to refer to the "right bank" or "left bank" of the Missouri, as the case may be, as those banks would appear in proceeding up the river, instead of designating the banks as they are usually indicated as appearing to one who is descending the stream. If he here means the east bank, then it is not at all clear as to just where the "village of the Gros Venter" was at which Lisa is supposed to have erected an establishment.

Lewis and Clarke on their up-river expedition refer to "Grosventres, or Bigbellies" as names given the Minnetarees; state that one of their villages was on the south side of the Knife River half a mile above the Mahaha Mandan village (which latter is stated to be "at the mouth of Knife River") and "surnamed Metaharta"; that on "the opposite side of Knife River, and one and a half mile above this village, is a second of Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetaree nation." On the return trip nearly two years later and in August, 1806, they "approached the grand village of the Minnetarees," and "soon after landed at the bank near the village of the Mahahas," and that "after remaining there a few minutes, we crossed to the Mandan village of the Blackcat." This Mandan village was the chief establishment of the Mandans at that time; and it therefore seems that the Gros Ventre villages were, in 1806, on the west side of the river substantially at the mouth of the Knife River. Chittenden says their home was "on the right bank of the Missouri near the mouth of Knife River"; that there were "two or three posts in their neighborhood at one time and another, but they were later all merged in the large post of Fort Clark, which accommodated both their own trade and that of the Mandans." He adds that parties had been left by the expedition to establish posts at the Mandans and Minetarees.

'Fort at the Three Forks-This post was erected on the neck of land between the Jefferson and Madison rivers about two miles above their junction, early in the spring of 1810, by the St. Louis, Missouri, Fur Company. It was a large post, and according to an account given by Lieutenant James H. Bradley, who visited the site in 1870, and who then traced its general outlines, "it was a double stockade of logs set three feet deep, enclosing an area of about three hundred feet square, situated upon the tongue of land (at that point only half a mile wide) between the Jefferson and Madison rivers, about two miles from their confluence, upon the south bank of the channel of the former stream, called Jefferson slough." It was attacked by the Blackfeet April 12, 1810, and owing to repeated attacks by them was abandoned in the fall. The only known existing relic of this post is a letter written on the spot under the heading of "The Three Forks of the Missouri," April 21, 1810, by Pierre Menard to Pierre Chouteau, of St. Louis, in the French language, published by Chittenden with an English translation. Brackenridge says that the Missouri Fur Company party were there "so much harassed by the savages, as to be compelled to remain altogether at their fort, or to venture but a short distance from it." That at least twenty whites were killed and twice that number of Indians; that the hostilities were caused by the killing of two or three Blackfeet by Lewis and Clarke on their return.

Local tradition connected this post with the Lewis and Clarke expedition, the erroneous belief existing that they had wintered there; and it was known locally as "Lewis and Clarke's Fort."

'**Posts at the Platte-**Many trading establishments and several military posts have been built at this point. The trading establishments were a little above the mouth of the Platte, but their commercial importance arose from their proximity to the junction of the two rivers. (Chittenden, vol. 2, p. 768.)

10Fort Osage, sometimes called Fort Clark, stood near the site of Sibley, Missouri, about forty miles below the mouth of the Kansas River, and was founded in 1808 by General William Clark. It was occupied, but not continuously, until 1827, and was permanently abandoned on the founding of Fort Leavenworth. Here was located the only government trading factory for the Indian trade west of the Mississippi. (Chittenden, vol. 2, p. 628, vol. 3, p. 948.)

See note 4.

12Manuel Lisa was born in New Orleans of Spanish parents September 8, 1772. He was the son of Christopher Lisa, who came to America in the service of his government at or about the time of the Spanish occupation of Louisiana. The early life of Manuel is shrouded in some obscurity, but that his father spent the balance of his life in this country, and that Manuel came to St. Louis early in life and at or prior to 1790, is known. In the fur trade, the business of his life, he had become well established at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as he secured from the Spanish government' about the year 1800 the exclusive trade with the Osage Indians on the Osage River, thus displacing Major John Pierre Chouteau, who was said to have monopolized that trade for more than twenty years. His connection with the upper Missouri fur trade dates from the year 1807, when he, accompanied by George Drouillard, who had accompanied Lewis and Clarke, and by Coulter, another member of that expedition, who had been met at the mouth of the Platte and had turned back to accompany Lisa, ascended that stream and built his post (see note on Fort Lisa) at the mouth of the Big Horn, returning in 1808, when he was chiefly instrumental in organizing the St. Louis, Missouri, Fur Company in the winter of 1808-9. Ascending the river again in 1809 And to his post on the Big Horn, he transferred that property to the new company, returning to St. Louis in 1809. In 1809-10 he was on his way to Montreal in connection with his business when he was stopped at Detroit by the embargo, and returned to St. Louis. In the spring of 1810 he again ascended the Missouri, returning in the fall to St. Louis, where he wintered. In April, 1811, he went up the river in quest of Major Andrew Henry, and to bring down the returns of the preceding winter's fur trade, as well as to ascertain the condition of the company's property, this being the last year of its business as planned by the partners. Upon this voyage Lisa accomplished the memorable trip in which he overtook the Hunt-Astoria expedition at the Big Bend, the two expeditions remaining substantially in company for the general purpose of defense

against the hostile Sioux, whose attitude at that time along the Missouri River in what is now South Dakota and further up-stream, was justly regarded by the whites as being extremely dangerous. In every other sense, however, the two parties were intensely opposed to each other, or rather, part of Hunt's company and the Lisa party were "at swords' points" with each other during the passage up the river from the bend until they neared the Aricara villages beyond the Cheyenne, an open rupture having been several times prevented by the diplomacy and bravery of individuals in either party, including Brackenridge. Lisa feared that the previous arrival of the Hunt party at the Indian villages would, in view of the presence of Crooks and McClellan, his sworn enemies, who were with that expedition, prove disastrous to his previous work in establishing a trade at that point. These incidents are mentioned, as they are of more than usual local importance in connection with what occurred at the mouth of the Teton River, while those parties were proceeding northward, and narrated further on in this note. Lisa proceeded up-river from the Aricara villages to the Mandan posts, returning thence to the post at the Aricaras, and remained there until Henry came down the river; leaving for St. Louis, where he arrived in October. In the winter of 1811-12 the St. Louis, Missouri, Fur Company was reorganized, Lisa becoming more prominent in the concern than before. He ascended the river with two barges in 1812, remaining at the Mandan post until the next spring, and returning to St. Louis with the winter's trade returns June 1, 1813. Now began the struggle to maintain amicable relations with the Indians on the upper Missouri and Mississippi, in view of the war of 1812 and the changed conditions which British inroads from the north, actively going on among the agents and Indian traders who adhered to the enemy, were bringing about. Lisa was assigned to this task, having been appointed sub-agent for all the Missouri tribes above the Kansas, and in August he left St. Louis for his trading post previously established about five miles above the Council Bluffs on the west side of the river, and which post is known in history as the principal Lisa post, or Fort Lisa. There he remained until the spring of 1815, and while there he made a complete success of the problem of controlling the Indians. Chittenden says of him in this connection: "He not only organized war expeditions against some of the tribes on the Mississippi who were allies of the British, but he secured pledges of friendship from nearly all the Missouri tribes, and went down to St. Louis in the spring of 1815 with forty-three chiefs and head men authorized to make treaties of friendship and alliance with the United States. It was mainly through his efforts that the upper Missouri tribes were prevented from going over to the British, and the government of the United States duly recognized the fact." After the war of 1812 the precise whereabouts of Lisa for a year or two are not clearly known but he wintered each year at Fort Lisa. In 1817 he resigned his commission as sub-agent in a letter to General Clark ("Chittenden," Appendix B), which for vigor of statement and comprehension of the subject of the Indian situation during the war of 1812

is a monument to the intelligence and masterly spirit of its writer, while it reveals in sententious phrase the great work done by him for his country. He continued in the fur trade, wintering at Fort Lisa and going to St. Louis a short time each summer. With subsequent changes in the personnel of the Missouri Fur Company Lisa's influence grew stronger, until he became its president. He was also a sort of general agent or manager of the firm of Cabanne and Company on the Missouri until his agency was ended in 1819, "because he had come down the river earlier than he was authorized to by the terms of his contract. But he doubtless came down from necessity of defending his interests against his ubiquitous enemies," says Chittenden. In 1819 the famous Yellowstone expedition ascended the river and made its winter encampment for 1819-20 near Fort Lisa. Lisa rendered valuable services to that expedition and cultivated the good will of its members. He returned to St. Louis in April, 1820, in good health. In August of that year he was seized with some disease of a serious nature, and died on the 12th of that month at the Sulphur Springs in the southwest suburbs of St. Louis. He was beyond question the most prodigiously active, swiftly resourceful and unerringly successful man who ever entered the Indian country in the far west and grappled with manifold difficulties on short notice, in trade negotiation and Indian diplomacy. His superb management of a boat in struggling up the swift Missouri was the mirror of his genius in other ways. He had enemies abundant. His expedient of "raising the song" when his men were weary and discouraged immortalized him among the voyageurs of his day. It is said that he must have traveled not less than twenty-six thousand miles on the upper Missouri and tributary streams during the last thirteen years of his life.

When Hunt's party was camping at the mouth of the Teton in 1811, Lisa's party, who had left the river below what is now the city of Pierre and proceeded up river by land to the bluffs at the Pierre boat-landing, halted there and crossed over to where Hunt was stopping. As Brackenridge, who was with Lisa, has recorded the first pen-picture of the river substantially at Old Fort Pierre, we will quote from his "Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri River" the following:

"Wednesday, 5th" (June). "This morning after proceeding a short distance we were compelled, by rain, to put to shore, where we continued until towaras evening, and seeing no probability that the weather would clear up, crossed over to the S. W. side, where Hunt and his party were encamped. On the side we had left, the hills approach close to the river, and bare of vegetation; the earth a stiff clay, which, being now moistened by the rain, is exceedingly slippery. On the other side there is a handsome plain, with a row of trees along the margin of the river, and a handsome wood along the borders of a little rivulet which flows across the plain. The upland rises at the distance of a quarter of a mile, to the height of sixty or seventy feet, in a number of projecting points, or hills. On ascending this ground we found ourselves on an extended plain, upon which at the distance of a few miles the hills rose in strange, irregular, broken masses. Mr. Bradbury and I took a stroll from

the camp, in quest of specimens and adventures. Before reaching the upland we observed on the river bottom a large encampment of Sioux, where they had probably remained during the winter, from the traces of tents, the quantity of bones, and the appearance of the ground. Their position was well chosen; the wood of the Missouri, and that of the streamlet I have just mentioned, at right angles with it, formed two sides of the camp, on the other side there is an open plain. In this place it would have been difficult to have attacked them by surprise." Further on and after mentioning the herbage, among which were "many beautiful small flowers, but no weeds," he adds: "Wide and beaten roads formed by the passing of the buffalo, may everywhere be seen." These roads of the "King of the Prairie" were the harbingers of the great commercial highways of frontier days which, adapting the trails of the aborigines, were beaten by civilization and which converged upon this plain so graphically described by Brackenridge and which was the site of old Fort Pierre and the train of posts preceding and following her; and the very site of the Sioux camp at the angle of the Missouri and the Teton, by him mentioned, was the scene of the pioneer white man's trading post built six years later (1817) by Joseph LaFromboise.

Brackenridge then relates that on returning to Hunt's camp it transpired that his (Hunt's) interpreter had surreptitiously quit his service, and that Lisa had reminded him (the interpreter) of the impropriety of his conduct, but that he (Lisa) had probably made some offers to said interpreter to draw him from his present service, which offers had probably been retailed by him to his master (Hunt); that while Lisa was in Hunt's camp that evening he was grossly insulted by the interpreter, "who struck him several times, and seized a pair of pistols belonging to Mr. Hunt; that gentleman did not seem to interest himself much in the affair, being actuated by feelings of resentment, at the attempt to inveigle his man. On my return to our camp, I found Mr. Lisa furious with rage, buckling on his knife, and preparing to return: finding that I could not dissuade, I resolved to accompany him. It was with the greatest difficulty I succeeded in preventing the most serious consequences. I had several times to stand between him and the interpreter, who had a pistol in each hand. I am sorry to say, that there was but little disposition on the part of Mr. Hunt to prevent the mischief that might have arisen. I must, in justice to him, declare, however, that it was through him that Mr. M'Clelland was induced not to put his threat" (That if ever he fell in with Lisa, in the Indian country, he would shoot him) "into execution, having pledged his honor to that effect. I finally succeeded in bringing Lisa off to his boat. When it is recollected that this was at a distance of a thousand miles from all civil authority, or power, it will be seen that there was but little to restrain the effects of animosity. Having obtained, in some measure, the confidence of Mr. Hunt, and the gentlemen who were with him, and Mr. Bradbury that of Mr. Lisa, we mutually agreed to use all the arts of mediation in our power, and, if possible, prevent anything serious."

The following is Washington Irving's account of this altercation:

“On the third day, however, an explosion took place, and it was produced by no less a personage than Pierre Dorion, the half breed interpreter. This worthy had been obliged to steal a march from St. Louis to avoid being arrested for an old whiskey debt which he owed to the Missouri Fur Company and by which Mr. Lisa had hoped to prevent his enlistment in Mr. Hunt's expedition. Dorion, since the arrival of Lisa, had kept aloof and regarded him with a sullen and dogged aspect.

"On the fifth day of July the two parties were brought to a halt, by a heavy rain, and remained in camp about one hundred yards apart. In the course of the day, Lisa undertook to tamper. with the faith of Pierre Dorion, and inviting him on board of his boat, regaled him with his favorite whiskey. When he thought him sufficiently mellowed he proposed to him to quit the service of his new employers and return to his old allegiance. Finding him not to be moved by soft words, he called to mind his old debt to the company, and threatened to carry him off by force in payment of it. The mention of his debt always stirred up the gall of Pierre Dorion, bringing with it remembrances of the whiskey extortion. A violent quarrel arose between him and Lisa, and he left the boat in high dudgeon.. His first step was to repair to the tent of Mr. Hunt and reveal the attempt that had been made to shake his faith. While he was yet talking, Lisa entered the tent, under the pretext that he had come to borrow a towing line. High words instantly ensued between him and Dorion, which ended in the half breed's dealing him a blow. A quarrel in the Indian country, however, is not to be settled with fisticuffs. Lisa immediately rushed to his boat for a weapon. Dorion snatched up a pair of pistols belonging to Mr. Hunt and placed himself in battle array. The noise had roused the camp, and every one pressed to know the cause. Lisa now reappeared on the field with a knife stuck in his girdle. Mr. Brackenridge, who had tried in vain to mollify his ire, accompanied him to the scene of action. Pierre Dorion's pistols gave him the advantage, and he maintained a most warlike attitude. In the meantime Crooks and M'Lellan had heard of the affray and were each eager to take the quarrel into their own hands. A scene of uproar and hubbub ensued which defies description. M'Lellan would have brought his rifle into play and settled all old, and new, grudges together had he not been restrained by Mr. Hunt. That gentleman acted as moderator, endeavoring to prevent a general melee; in the midst of the brawl, however, an expression was made use of by Lisa derogatory to his own honor. In an instant the tranquil spirit of Mr. Hunt was in a flame. He now became as eager for a fight as anyone on the ground, and challenged Lisa to settle the dispute on the spot with pistols. Lisa repaired to his boat to arm himself for the deadly feud. He was followed by Messrs. Bradbury and Brackenridge, who were novices in Indian life, and the chivalry of the frontier, and had no relish for scenes of blood and brawl. By their earnest mediation the quarrel was with great difficulty brought to a close without bloodshed; but the two leaders of rival camps separated in anger, and all personal intercourse ceased between them."

"**American Island and Forts Thereon**-This island is substantially

opposite the city of Chamberlain, S. D. The site of the "Fort aux Cedars" was probably at the lower end of the island and perhaps nearly a mile below Chamberlain. This post and that of Fort Recovery have become somewhat confused in the accounts of this old trading point. Nicollet refers to "Old Ft. aux Cedars" as being directly opposite this island on the west side of the Missouri River. He saw the place in 1839. Maximilian speaks of the site of a former post having been seen by his party May 25, 1833, soon after passing above the mouth of White River, and as a place where "a trading post of the Missouri Fur Company had formerly been. When the Company was dissolved, this and other settlements were abandoned," etc. Fort Recovery was established at the lower end of Cedar (known also as American) island in 1822 by the Missouri Fur Company, after Lisa's death and upon Pilcher's succeeding him. The company then included Joshua Pilcher, Charles Bent, Fontenelle and Drips. It was also called Cedar Fort, and this may have been its first name. Chittenden says this may have been the site of "the old Missouri Fur Company post which burned in 1810 and the fact of its re-establishment may have given it its name"; that Leavenworth in 1823 refers to it as a post "called by the Indian traders Fort Recovery and sometimes Cedar Fort."

"**Fort Lookout** was established about 1822. It stood about twelve miles above the site of Chamberlain, S. D., on the west side of the Missouri River, opposite to the site of an old Aricara village. It was a post of the French" Fur Company. Maximilian thus speaks of it as it appeared in 1833: "Sioux Agency, or, as it is now usually called, Fort Lookout, is a square, of about 60 paces, surrounded by pickets. * * * Close to the fort, in a northerly direction, the Fur Company of Mr. Sublette had a dwelling house, with a store; and, in the opposite direction, was a similar post of the American Fur Company." Chittenden states that it was a post of the Columbia Fur Company and as having been built "as early as 1822." "The American Fur Company's post at this place was Fort Kiowa, built about 1822, or immediately after the Western Department" [of the American Fur Company] "went to St. Louis. The sites were so close together that early references confused the two" [Forts Lookout and Kiowa] "more or less. They were situated on the right bank of the Missouri some ten miles above where Chamberlain, South Dakota, now stands. The Journal of the Yellowstone expedition of 1825 says of the American Fur Company post: "Fort Kiowa consists of a range of log buildings containing four rooms, a log house and a storehouse forming a right angle, leaving a space of some thirty feet. At the south corner of the work is erected a blockhouse near which stands a smith's shop. At the north corner is erected a small wooden tower. The whole work is enclosed by cottonwood pickets. The sides or curtains of the work are 140 feet each." Maximilian further says of Fort Lookout that "it is a square of about sixty paces surrounded by pickets twenty or thirty feet high made of square trunks of trees placed close together." This estimate of height is doubtless exaggerated. The buildings consisted of three blockhouses. At Fort Lookout was concluded the treaty of June 22, 1825,

with the Tetons, Yanktons and Yanktonias, through General Atkinson and Major O'Fallon, and it was said to be "a position occupied by the American Fur Company, twenty miles below the Grand Bend on the right bank of the river." Some of General Harney's troops were stationed there in 1856-7, and the post was abandoned by them June 17, 1857, they proceeding to Fort Randall. Dr. Coues (editor of Larpenteur's Journal) says the post is at about the 1081-mile point above St. Louis. A portion of its material was used in 1857 in building Fort Randall.

"**Fort George** was located on the west side of the Missouri River, about nineteen and a half miles below Fort Pierre or the mouth of Teton or Bad River, and two and a half miles below a point opposite to the mouth of the Little Medicine or Medicine Knoll Creek, and is about one-eighth of a mile above the mouth of the Fort George Creek. The writer of this note, who visited the locality September 2, 1901, paced the distance from the southeast corner of the old stockade of the post to the bluff of said creek, and found the distance to be approximately 675 feet. At the present time the Missouri River bluff bank is within from twentyfive to fifty feet of the north line of the post. The stockade enclosure is 175 feet east and west by 160 feet north and south, and the north and south side lines extend a little south of due east. There is no question that this post was originally stockaded-the evidences of the stockade ditches are yet plainly visible; and the outlines of the two bastions, one at the southwest corner, the other at the northeast corner, are also still visible. In the exact center of the inclosure stands the stake marking the northeast corner of the Lower Brule reservation. A wire fence along the east and west section line of the government survey extends across the inclosure, crossing the west end at a point 93 feet south of the northwest corner, and crossing the east end 51 feet from the northeast corner. The post was built by a company in opposition to the American Fur Company-the opposition company being composed of one Ebbetts, one Cutting, William Kelsey, and the firm of Fox, Livingston and Co. of New York City, and was variously known as Fox, Livingston & Co., the Union Fur Company, and Ebbetts & Cutting. This was their principal establishment in the upper Missouri fur trade, and was probably built in 1842, as Ebbetts, the pioneer who preceded its establishment, traded in that locality in 1841 with profit, and encouraged the other partners to take an interest soon after. Kelsey was first in charge of the post. Kelsey, in maintaining the business at that point, and who had with him several desperate adventurers who lived on Simeneau's Island (now known as Fort George Island or Airhart's Island) at that point, shot two men dead and wounded two others of his men who refused to give up certain habitations claimed by the company situated on the island; then, fearing the consequences of his acts, he suddenly left the country for Mexico, never to return. The Union Fur Company continued the business there until 1845, when they sold out to the American Fur Company, the post itself, however, not having been purchased by the successors. Fox, Livingston & Co. seem to have constituted the most determined opposition to the American Fur Company, of any rival establishment in

that part of the country, for several years. Larpenteur says that Kelsey left Cutting in charge when he (Kelsey) left, but he calls him "Cotton"; and Cutting was in possession in 1843 when Audubon, the naturalist, made his trip up the Missouri in that year. At that time, however, Major Ham. ilton seems to have been in charge of an Indian agency at that point, as Audubon mentions him as "now acting Indian agent here until the return of Major Crisp (Drips?)." He adds that Hamilton "pointed out to us the cabin on the opposite shore, where a partner of the "opposition line" shot at and killed two white men and wounded two others, all of whom were remarkable miscreants." Again, Audubon, May 28, 1843, says: "Squires and I walked to Fort George, and soon met a young Englishman. * * * His name was Illingsworth; he is the present manager of the establishment." It is evident that the American Fur Company established a rival trading post there immediately after Fort George was built; as one Bouis was sent down there from Fort Pierre with a stock of goods, but his lodge was raided by the desperate men under Kelsey and cut to pieces; after which he was relieved by Major Hamilton.

Louis DeWitt, a prominent mixed-blood living about three-quarters of a mile up Fort George Creek, and an old resident there, has interviewed several Indians who are said to have personal knowledge of the old post. He stated to the writer of this note, November 12, 1901, that the oldest daughter of the noted chief Strikes-the-Ree, living at Lower Brule agency, informed him about that time that she was then seventyeight years old, that she was fourteen years old when Fort George was built (this would fix the date of its erection in 1837-evidently an error) ; that the post was stockaded to her personal knowledge. He also reports Swift Hawk, -an Indian living about a mile below him, and who was then sixty-seven years old, as stating that there was a stockade at Fort George as far back as he could remember; that there were two blockhouses opposite to each other and that they had port holes in them. That he and Four Bears, chief of the Two Kettles, lived there in the stockade after the post was abandoned; that when abandoned the post was given to Four Bears. That the Fort Pierre people took the most of it, from the inside, "what was good," at that time, but that the main part of it, including the stockade, was left there. That Americans, as they were called, lived there, while the French lived at Fort Pierre. Joseph Waudel, a Frenchman and squaw inman living up Bad River, and who came up the river in 1853 in connection with the American Fur Company's business, stated to the writer of this note, October 14, 1901, that Fort George was there when he came up the river; that it was taken away in 1854 (probably an error of one year), the American Fur Company having sent teams down there to haul parts of it up to Fort Pierre; that they put the logs from it into Fort Pierre; that there was nothing left of it then except a chimney made of hay and clay and that Primeau's step-son, Charles Brasseau, was in charge there just before it was abandoned and taken away. But it is certain that the post was occupied by some of Harney's Infantry in 1855, as Captain H. W. Wessells, Second Infantry,

reports from that post July 31, 1855: "This post having been purchased by the Quartermaster's Department was temporarily occupied on the 15th July by Co. 'G' 2nd Infantry for the purpose of removing the buildings when no longer required for the public service and to store such public property as might be discharged from overloaded boats on their way to Fort Pierre." And the commanding officer then at Fort Pierre, reporting his arrival there July 31, 1855, remarks that, owing to low water, public stores had been left at various points below, and guards left to take charge of them; that on the 15th inst. Major Wessells, with his Company, was temporarily detached to Fort George to receive any public stores the transports might be compelled to discharge, at that point, and if the buildings there should not be required for that purpose to take them down preparatory to their material being transported to this post, for the construction of public storehouses, &c, here." There seem to be no government records, however, regarding such purchase, in existence. The point concerning the existence of a stockade is brought out, as the late Charles P. Chouteau of the American Fur Company, speaking from memory in 1897, states in a letter to Colonel J. C. Gilmore, assistant adjutant general, Washington, D. C., that this post was "an insignificant affair, consisting of a few huts and not stockaded nor fortified at all." He also states that the establishment was "a sort of opposition, establishment to Fort Pierre," and that "three traders named Premen (Primeau), Harvey & Boise" set up the business there, which "was soon absorbed by the Chouteau Co."

"**Fort Tecumseh** was built, as nearly as can be ascertained, in 1822, and was the principal trading establishment of the Columbia Fur Company (see note 17). Its precise location relatively to its successor, old Fort Pierre, or to the mouth of the Teton, can only be stated approximately. It stood in all probability a trifle over a mile down the Missouri River from where Fort Pierre was built, and this would fix its site at nearly two miles above the mouth of the Teton. It certainly stood farther east than Fort Pierre, for the occasion of commencing the erection of Fort Pierre was the dangerous proximity of Fort Tecumseh to the river bank, it being so near the water that it was feared by the members of the American Fur Company (who purchased it from the Columbia Fur Company, as will be seen), that it would soon be undermined by the inroads of the river; while by all the authorities it is clear that Fort Pierre was placed some distance back from the river bank. It was the pioneer trading post substantially at the mouth of the Teton, among all of those built by the fur traders of the Missouri River era who ranked with the large operators, and was named for the celebrated Indian chief Tecumseh. Basil Clement (pronounced Klemo, and by Americans Claymore) who came up to Fort Pierre from St. Louis in 1840, states that Fort Tecumseh was built by DesLauriers. It stood on the right or west bank of the Missouri, as did Fort Pierre; but it will be noted that Major Wilson, in his article to which this note is appended states further on that for various reasons mentioned the site of Fort Tecumseh was not convenient for the Indian trade, the width of the river, high winds, etc., making it

difficult to communicate with "the other bank"; that McKenzie (in charge of Fort Tecumseh) desired to change the location of the trading post, and that "experience had determined that the left bank of the Missouri was the preferable one for Indian trading;" and he also speaks in the first instance concerning this post, of Its erection "on the right bank, opposite the mouth of the Teton," and that its location was "very near the site of the present city of Pierre, South Dakota." From all of which-and remembering that Major Wilson refers to the river bank as it is at one's right or left in ascending the river, it is clear that he believed Fort Tecumseh to have been originally built on the east side of the Missouri. No other evidence than that of Major Wilson's dictum has so far been adduced, however, to sustain this theory. The writer of this note, in an endeavor to secure corroboration of Major Wilson, has searched every available avenue of information for further light upon the subject, but is unable to secure any proof of the claim that this particular post ever stood on the east side of the river; while there is a tradition that the original trading post in that vicinity stood on the high ground northeast of the city park and some distance east of what is now the Catholic Hospital (formerly the Park Hotel) in the city of Pierre. Upon communicating with Major Wilson, and requesting information from him as to the sources of his supposed evidence going to sustain his belief in the premises, it transpired that the chief element upon which his supposition was based was "an extract from the report of General Atkinson and Major O'Fallon, dated St. Louis, November 7, 1825, reporting their journey up the Missouri, in which they state that they made a treaty with the Ogalallas and Cheyennes, at the mouth of the Teton River above Fort Lookout `where there is an establishment of the American Fur Company on the right bank of the river.'" And Major Wilson in his said response adds: "As the Teton comes into the Missouri from the west, there is, of course, ground for question as to whether the words 'on the right bank of the river' is meant to mean on the right bank of the Teton or on the right bank of the Missouri. I have always understood it to mean on the right bank of the Missouri, and I am very positive that I satisfied myself on that point before making the statement." It seems very plain that the whole difficulty with Major Wilson's theory on this head is that he concludes from the statement of Atkinson and O'Fallon quoted by him, that those officers in their said report meant by "the right bank of the river" the east, not the west bank; and when their further language, namely, "at the mouth of the Teton," is considered in connection with the balance of their description of the location, it would seem to put the point beyond controversy, to the effect that they meant the west bank, and that the post then stood on the west side of the Missouri.

There can be no reasonable doubt that Fort Tecumseh was a stockaded post, as stated by Major Wilson; but as to its size, or to what extent the inclosed area was occupied by buildings, is a matter of conjecture. It was delivered to the American Fur Company by the Columbia Fur Company December 5, 1827, "with an inventory of property amounting to $14,453." William Laidlaw, who had been in the employ of the prede-

cessor concern, was in charge for the five years or thereabouts during which it was occupied thereafter and prior to the occupation of Fort Pierre. Laidlaw and Halsey moved out of it into Fort Pierre April 15, 1832, but Fort Pierre was not permanently occupied until June 17th or later. Doubtless some of its material went into Fort Pierre.

In connection with the abandonment of Fort Tecumseh, it may be proper to add that Claymore states that the American Fur Company, before erecting Nort Pierre, "built or tried to build a post on the north side of the Little Bend, right above Amedee Rosseau's about one-fourth of a mile. I saw the old rotten logs there myself. It was called McKenzie Bottom. Mike McKenzie built it, just a shack, etc., and went away within a year. He was driven away by the Rees. Then below the mouth of the Cheyenne near Fort Bennett McKenzie tried to build there, and the Rees drove them away. The Brule Sioux came up there and said to him, 'the Rees will not let you build here, you build near old Fort Teton, just above, and we will protect you.' Then they built Fort Pierre." Claymore was employed by the American Fur Company from the time of his arrival there until after old Fort Pierre was sold to the government. But what he relates concerning the efforts to build a post near the mouth of the Cheyenne is based upon the statements of others, except as to what he saw as ruins of the incipient "shacks," etc.

''**The American Fur Company** was chartered by the state of New York to John Jacob Astor, April 6, 1808, such corporate body being simply a "fiction intended to broaden and facilitate his operations" in carrying out his comprehensive schemes of monopolizing the fur trade of the west and, incidentally, the ocean trade between New York and the Pacific coast and China. The companies under whose immediate operation his vast schemes were carried on-all being simply departments of the American Fur Company, were substantially as follows: Astor, finding it necessary or prudent to buy out the Mackinaw Company (headquartered at Michilimackinac between Lakes Huron and Michigan) took into partnership certain part owners of the Northwest Company (itself a formidable rival of the Hudson Bay Company and established at Montreal, and having its principal base of supplies at the Grand Portage northwest of Lake Superior) ; and this successor to the Mackinaw Company was known as the Southwest Company, as opposed to the British Company, which did business in the country to the north and west. Astor owned a two-thirds interest in the Southwest Company, the other partners (including also the Mackinaw traders Cameron, Fraser, Dickson and Rolette) agreeing that their interest should fall to Astor at the end of five years. June 23. 1810, Astor organized the Pacific Fur Company, contemplating a central establishment near the mouth of the Columbia River, supplies to be furnished from New York by ship, "which would receive the returns of the trade, dispose of the furs in China, and return home with goods for the home market," the coast trade to be carried on in conjunction, including supplies to the Russian settlements on the northWest coast. The war of 1812 practically crippled the successful operation of these organizations for several years. In 1816, congress having (largely through Astor's

efforts) passed an act excluding foreigners from participating in the fur trade of the United States, the Northwest Company relinquished their interest on American territory, the American Fur Company succeeding to their interests, as well as to those of the Southwest Company, in 1816. Ramsey Crooks and Robert Stuart became the general agents of the company, while Russell Farnham became chief representative on the Mississippi. A fierce quarrel between the St. Louis traders and Farnham as promoter of the American Fur Company's interests in the Illinois country arose over the question whether the company could, under the act of 1816, engage foreigners in the service of American traders-a practice carried on by Astor, who had employed Canadians. Litigation arose over the forcible seizure of two boats of the company by the military acting upon the theory of exclusive right of the governors of Missouri and Illinois territories to license the business on the Mississippi, resulting in favor of the American Fur Company in 1823, and the war department at last recognized the validity of the licenses of the Mackinaw traders. Astor, conservative about entering into the Missouri River trade for the reason, chiefly, that he was furnishing goods to the St. Louis traders, and not having succeeded in coming to terms with Berthold, Chouteau & Co. of St. Louis, who desired to purchase an interest in the American Fur Company, laid plans in 1821 to enter into that field of operations. The British parliament having, on July 2, 1821, passed an act virtually excluding Americans from the Canadian trade, the American Fur Company withdrew its outposts from the country east of Lake Huron, but immediately established posts along the Canadian frontier from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods as a counter move. Astor was also instrumental in securing the abolition by congress of the United States factories for the Indian trade, thus removing government competition. In April, 1,q22, Samuel Abbott was sent by the company to St. Louis to represent its interests there, and the company thus created its western department, giving to the older and northern field of its operations the name of the northern department. Robert Stuart remained at Michilimackinac. April 1, 1823, the firm of Stone, Bostwick & Co. (otherwise known as David Stone & Co.), a formidable rival trading concern in the St. Louis trade, was admitted into the American Fur Company, to continue three and one-half years, Bostwick and Abbott to be in charge at St. Louis; at the end of which period, in 1827, the western department was placed in charge of Bernard Pratte & Co., a firm composed of Pratte, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., John P. Cabanne and B. Berthold, an old and prominent St. Louis trading house, which arrangement was to continue for four years. A powerful rival had now appeared in the northern territory, namely the Columbia Fur Company, founded by Joseph Renville, who associated with him Kenneth McKenzie and William Laidlaw (who later was in charge of old Fort Pierre), who had been employed by the British traders prior to the amalgamation in 1821 of the Northwest and Hudson Bay companies, McKenzie soon becoming president of the Columbia Fur Company; the legal title of the concern being Tilton & Co. Its most important post was Fort Tecumseh, just above the mouth

of the Teton, or, as then called, Little Missouri River (now Bad River), on the west side of the Missouri River a short distance below old Fort Pierre. The American Fur Company and the Columbia Fur Company were in close and active competition through the Sioux and Omaha country at that time, both being outfitted in St. Louis. A union was formed between the two companies about July, 1827, the Columbia Fur Company withdrawing from the Great Lakes region and the upper Mississippi, which thus reverted to the northern department of the American Fur Company devoid of opposition. A sub-department was created on the Missouri embracing all the valley above the mouth of the Big Sioux (substantially at what is now Sioux City), the Columbia Fur Company taking charge of this department without substantially changing its organization. The partners of the retiring Columbia Fur Company, including McKenzie, Laidlow and Daniel Lamont, became partners of this subdepartment "quite as independently as if they had remained a separate company." The name of Columbia Fur Company was dropped, and the new arrangement was carried on for twenty years or more under the business style of "Upper Missouri Outfit," or, as abbreviated, "U. M. 0." The new arrangement went into full effect with the beginning of 1828. It is said that thereafter the "company," thus made the most formidable trading concern on the Missouri River, was always understood to mean the American Fur Company, all others being mere "opposition" companies, which supremacy was continued until the company ceased business altogether over thirty years afterward. Kenneth McKenzie, the master spirit in the management of the American Fur Company, was dissuaded for the time being by Pierre Chouteau from a cherished scheme of embarking the company in the fur trade of the Rocky Mountains, where General Ashley had brilliantly succeeded as head of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company; and Fort Floyd (afterwards and permanently known as Fort Union) was established by the American Fur Company in the fall of 1828 at the mouth of the Yellowstone. In 1829 and 1830 Henry Vanderbergh headed a party who traveled into the heart of the Rocky Mountains for the American Fur Company, encountering great hardships and a battle with the Blackfeet, but the expedition was not profitable in building up the fur trade there. The contract between the American Fur Company and Bernard Pratte & Co. for control by the latter of the western department, and between said firm and McKenzie and others as agents of the Upper Missouri Outfit (the former of which expired with the outfit of 1829, the latter with that of 1830) were renewed in March and August, 1830, for four years more. Late in 1831 McKenzie caused Fort Piegan to be built for the company just above the mouth of the Marias River and in the angle between that and the Missouri; this post being burned the next summer. Fort McKenzie was built to succeed it that year, six miles further up and on the north bank of the Marias, which became the permanent seat of the Blackfoot Indian trade. Fort Cass was built on the Yellowstone at the mouth of the Big Horn, for the Crow Indian trade. In 1831 the steamboat Yellowstone made the first trip up the Missouri as far as Fort Tecumseh; the next year she

ascended to Fort Union, the experiment having been made through Mr. Chouteau's confidence in the plan of thus doing away with the keel-boat service in transporting goods up and down the river for the company. After the union with the Columbia Fur Company, the next opposition was that of the French Fur Company, composed of Papin, Chenie, the two Qerres, DeLaurier, Picotte, Dennis Guion and Louis Bonfort and its principal establishment, "just across the Teton River from Fort Tecumseh," was purchased October, 1830, by the American Fur Company. The strongest opposition ever presented against the American Fur Company was that of Sublette & Campbell, a firm composed of William L. Sublette and Robert Campbell, formed in December, 1832. Their principal post was Fort William, built in 1833 about three miles by land below Fort Union. Through the crushing competitive tactics of McKenzie, and the subsequent purchase, in April, 1834, of their remaining goods by the American Fur Company, who agreed to retire from the mountain trade for the ensuing year, that concern was silenced as a competitor on the Missouri. In 1833 the company was in great trouble with the government, owing to McKenzie's experiments with a distillery at Fort Union, where he for a time manufactured spirits for the Indian trade, the government having prohibited the transportation of liquors into the Indian country. This trouble was averted early in 1834 through various pretexts. Mr. Astor, wishing in 1833 to retire from the business, notified Bernard Pratte & Co. that the existing contract with them would expire "with the outfit of the present year on the terms expressed in said agreement"; which step was followed, June 1, 1834, by a sale by him of the northern department, retaining the name of the American Fur Company, to a company of which Ramsey Crooks was principal partner, and of the western department to Pratte, Chouteau & Co. of St. Louis. For many years thereafter the name of American Fur Company was popularly applied to the new company at St. Louis, though improperly. Astor had clearly foreseen the beginning of the decline of the beaver fur trade in the London market in 1833. The remnants of the waning Rocky Mountain Fur Company were, through a connection between Fitzpatrick, Sublette and Bridger (representing those interests) and Fontemelle (of the American Fur Company) merged into the American Fur Company, and Fort John on the Laramie was occupied as the last considerable trade depot of the company. The Rocky Mountain trade of the company was practically terminated in 1843, when James Bridger, who, with Benito Vasquez and Basil Claymore (the latter now living above the mouth of the Cheyenne River on the Missouri) had in 1841-2 trapped for the company in those regions, built Fort Bridger on Black's Fork of the Green River. In 1838 the company management was again changed, the name of Pratte, Chouteau & Co. being succeeded by that of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., & Co., under which name the business was carried on until about the time of the company's permanent retirement from business in 1865, when it sold out to Smith, Hubbell & Hawley of St. Paul, trading as the Northwestern Fur Company. In 1842 new and formidable opposition was met by the company, in the southwest by Lupton and Bent, and St. Vrain, in the upper Platte River

country by Pratt, Cabanne & Co., and on the upper Missouri by Fox. Livingston & Co. at Fort George and Fort Mortimer (at the mouth of the Yellowstone, being the former Fort William), the latter concern being the most formidable, and the contraband liquor trade being the chief instrument in the hands of these rival operators, largely composed of desperate characters; Major Andrew Dripps having been appointed Indian agent by the government, and having by determined effort finally driven those outlaws to the wall, while affording to the American Fur Company every facility for pursuing these rivals. In 1845 Fox, Livingston & Co. (otherwise known as the Union Fur Company) sold out to the American Fur Company. From this time on the fur trade in general declined rapidly. (See Cnittenden, p. 309 et seq.)

The name "American Fur Company," however, seams to have been in use at Michilimackinac long before the Missouri River country became the scene of fur-trading enterprise. But such prior use of the name was entirely disconnected from the promoters of the various concerns which finally resulted in the formation of the company treated of at large in this note.

"North American Fur Company-It is probable that this refers to what was really the northern department of the American Fur Company, which department was formed in 1822. (Sea note 17.)

"Rocky Mountain Fur Company-This statement is misleading as to the origin of that company. Its beginning was in 1822, when General William H. Ashley, its founder, secured a license (as did Major Andrew Henry on the same date) on April 11, 1822, to trade on the upper Missouri; Henry commanding the expedition of that year, a post being established the following winter at the mouth of the Yellowstone; a disastrous expedition thence into the Blackfoot country next year, followed by the second expedition from St. Louis, under General Ashley himself, resulting in the disastrous losses in the Arickara campaign of 1823, being among the early experiences of the company. During several years thereafter and until the summer of 1826, the business was conducted amid perils and adventures which mark that period of exploration into the Rocky Mountains and, in particular, of that region where the sources of the great western rivers of the American continent are found, from Great Salt Lake northward and eastward; beaver trapping being the chief feature. The Hudson Bay Company being the great competitor in front, while agents of the American Fur Company and various minor concerns were following the footsteps of Ashley's men, taking advantage of their pioneering experiences in those new fields of the fur trade and laying foundations for eventually superseding the principal actors. On July 18, 1826, began the second period in the career of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, when Ashley turned over the actual conduct of the business to the firm of Smith, Jackson & Sublette, composed of Jedediah S. Smith, David E. Jackson and William L. Sublette. In the fall of that year Ashley also entered into a contract with Bernard' Pratte & Co., under which they were to receive a share of the profits of the next year's business,

this being done to frustrate an attempt of Etienne Provost (the veteran trapper who had first reached the Great Salt Lake region) to form
(through an agreement with Bernard Pratte & Co.) a rival expedition to the mountains the next year. Large profits resulted to the parties in interest during that season, Ashley realizing a fortune as the result of several years' business. The concern was now run under the name of Smith, Jackson & Sublette, until the summer of 1830, when for the first time and under a new contract through which the interests of Smith, Jackson & Sublette were sold to Thomas Fitzpatrick, Milton G. Sublette, Henry Fraeb, Jean Baptiste Gervais and James Bridger, the operations were conducted under the style of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, which contract was dated August 4, 1830, the successors being the men who had rendered the business successful for their vendors, as the latter had done by Ashley. William L. Sublette supplied the company with outfits, and in turn marketed their furs for several years, during which the concern "carried on a wild and roving trade, and its numerous bands of trappers overspread the entire mountain region"; and Vanderburgh, Drips and Fontenelle, partisans of the American Fur Company, were dogging the steps and seeking to foil the purposes of the leading outfits with a view to ultimate dominance of the field in the fur trade of those areas. The New Englander, Nathaniel J. Wyeth and his followers, and Sinclair's free trappers were also participants in the fierce and growing competition. In vain did the company offer to divide the trapping territory with the rival operators; then Fitzpatrick and Bridger lured them into the heart of the Blackfoot country until the Indians attacked them, killing Vanderburgh. Later (in 1833) Captain Bonneville's company came upon the scene, also Robert Campbell. In August of that year Wyeth contracted with the Rocky Mountain Fur Company to deliver merchandise to it the next year. That fall Fitzpatrick, while in the Crow country on Tongue River, was robbed by the Indians of all his possessions. "Fitzpatrick openly charged the American Fur Company with having instigated this outrage; the Indians confessed the fact, and the company's agent admitted it." It is also said that next year (1834) Fitzpatrick (representing the Rocky Mountain Fur Company) was induced by William L. Sublette (representing the American Fur Company) to refuse to carry out the contract made by the former with Wyeth for merchandise, Wyeth being thus left with the goods on his hands and the Rocky Mountain Fur Company was without the sinews of war for the year's campaign; and that William L. Sublette and Robert Campbell "were shrewdly drawing into their own hands the profits of the trade" of that company. Under these discouraging circumstances the Rocky Mountain Fur Company was dissolved in the summer of 1834, Fraeb and Gervais selling out their interest, the remaining partners forming a new firm under the name of Fitzpatrick, Sublette & Bridger. The annual rendezvous on Green River in 1834 ended the career of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company; and Fitzpatrick, Sublette & Bridger continued in business for only a short time, going into the service of the American Fur Company at Fort Laramie the next year (1835). During its twelve years of existence the Rocky

Mountain Fur Company is estimated to have shipped to St. Louis halt a million dollars' worth of beaver furs, and to have lost one hundred men by unnatural deaths, while its contributions to geographical knowledge were immense. (See Chittenden, vol. 1, pp. 262-308.)

20Pierre Chouteau, Jr., the founder of old Fort Pierre, was horn in St. Louis January 19, 1789. He was the second son of Major John Pierre Chouteau, Sr., who was born in New Orleans October 10, 1758, and came to St. Louis in 1764. Chittenden is authority for the statement that Auguste Chouteau was grandfather to the subject of this note; but Billon in his "Annals of St. Louis," does not name Major John Pierre Chouteau as one of the sons of Auguste, nor could this be, for Auguste Chouteau was born September 26, 1750, and came up with Laclede in 1764 and assisted In establishing the post of St. Louis, and John Pierre arrived there the same year in September. The evidence seems to establish the fact that Auguste was uncle to Pierre Chouteau, Jr.

Pierre Chouteau, Jr., was the most illustrious member of the numerous Chouteau family, the family itself having been perhaps the most prominently identified with the growth of St. Louis of any in the southwest, as it certainly was with the development of the fur trade of the west and northwest. From his earliest manhood he proved to be the leading spirit in the founding of the vast system of pioneering involved in establishing outposts for traffic with the Indians in the almost boundless extent of wilderness which the Louisiana Purchase had brought within the scope of American enterprise. In his family he was known as Pierre Cadet Chouteau; was his father's clerk in the fur business at the age of fifteen. He went with Julien Du Buque to the lead mines of Galena on the upper Mississippi in 1806, and in 1809 ascended the Missouri with his father in the service of the Missouri Fur Company. After becoming of age he engaged in business on his own account, and in 1813 he formed a partnership with Bartholomew Berthold, his brother-in-law, which continued until 1831. He made several trips up the Missouri River on the company's steamboat, and was at old Fort Pierre in June, 1832, when the post was named for him. He was a member of the firm of Bernard Pratte & Co., which became the agent of the western department of the American Fur Company, and a leading member of the succeeding firm of Pratte, Chouteau & Co., which purchased that department in 1834. In 1838 the firm was changed to Pierre Chouteau, Jr., under which style the business of the American Fur Company was carried on for over twenty years. Mr. Chouteau in after years and with the growth of his great wealth became interested in other industrial enterprises, such as railroads, bonds, etc., and for many years he resided principally in New York, where he became a leading financier. He possessed in a very high degree the mercantile instinct, and this, combined with his strict adherence to systematic methods and conservative calculating, equipped him for successful action wherever his genius sought exercise. It is said that he accepted conditions as he found them and did not attempt to raise the standard of business morality above its normal level; would reinforce his agents on the upper river in any measure which the

strenuous times in frontier competition usually demanded, but that whoever among his employes attempted to embark in a rival trading business met the crushing force of his powerful company, which was applied without mercy. And if some of the undercurrents which swept across the seas of the Hunt-Astoria expedition were fully revealed the opposing hand of Chouteau would undoubtedly appear. He schemed incessantly to build upon the ruins of Astor's brave and hardy but ill-fated efforts to unite St. Louis with the Pacific by a succession of trading houses. He was very liberal towards all manner of scientific expeditions, large or small, and by virtue of the facilities which he was able to furnish through the river craft owned by the company contributed much to their success. Large accumulations of rare natural and scientific specimens were gathered at his home in St. Louis, the result of these labors of explorers into the far northwest, and many writings of more or less consequence were given him in return for his assistance; the greater part of which materials were unfortunately burned in various conflagrations in St. Louis. However, the long series of years during which the American Fur Company and its immediate predecessors were engaged in the Indian trade and the incidental development of the country brought within the files of the company historical evidences of incalculable value, constituting by far the greatest contribution of the raw material of history of any organization ever formed west of the Alleghenies for business purposes. Though before the era of typewriters, the immense correspondence of the American Fur Company was still not so large but that Mr. Chouteau preserved a copy of every letter, which mass of information is yet preserved in archives at St. Louis; and the present Pierre Chouteau, a grandson of him of whom this note is written, has very magnanimously promised to place at the disposal and use of South Dakota all that portion of such correspondence pertaining more particularly to old Fort Pierre, whenever a suitable fireproof structure shall be erected within which to preserve it.

The only son of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., was Charles P. Chouteau, who was born in St. Louis December 2, 1819, and who died there in January, 1900. The present Pierre Chouteau of St. Louis is a son of Charles P. Chouteau.

Pierre Chouteau, Jr., died in St. Louis October 6, 1865.

"'**Kenneth McKenzie** had, in 1828, become head manager of the American Fur Company's business on the upper Missouri River, with headquarters at Fort Tecumseh, the business being operated under the name of the Upper Missouri Outfit. See .note 17.

22See note 16, as to location of this post.

"That is, the west bank, in keeping with the author's general reference to the river banks, as they appear in ascending the stream.

2`The Sioux or Dakota Indians-Lewis and Clarke thus record their observations as to numbers and localities of the various Sioux tribes in 1804: "The Sioux, or Dacorta Indians, originally settled on the Missis sippi, and called by Carver, Madowesians, are now subdivided into tribes,

as follows: First, the Yanktons; this tribe inhabits the Sioux, Desmoines and Jaques rivers, and number about two hundred warriors. Second, the
Tetons of the burnt woods; this tribe numbers about three hundred men, who rove on both sides of the Missouri, the White and Teton rivers. Third, the Tetons Okandandas, a tribe consisting of about one hundred and fifty men, who inhabit both sides of the Missouri below the Cheyenne River. Fourth, Tetons Minnakenozzo, a nation inhabiting both sides of the Missouri, above the Cheyenne River, and containing about two hundred and fifty men. Fifth, Tetons Saone; these inhabit both sides of the Missouri below the Warreconne River, and consist of about three hundred men. Sixth, Yanktons of the Plains, or Big Devils, who rove on the heads of the Sioux, Jacques and Red rivers; the most numerous of all the tribes, and number about five hundred men. Seventh, Wahpatone; a nation residing on the St. Peter's, just above the mouth of that river, and numbering two hundred men. Eighth, Mindawarcarton, or proper Dacorta or Sioux Indians. These possess the original seat of the Sioux, and are properly so denominated. They rove on both sides of the Mississippi, about the Falls of St. Anthony, and consist of three hundred men. Ninth, the Wahpatoota, or Leaf Beds. This nation inhabits both sides of the river St. Peter's, below the Yellow Wood River, amounting to about one hundred and fifty men. Tenth, Sistasoone; this nation numbers two hundred men, and reside at the head of the St. Peter's." (Lon-don edition of 1815, vol. 2, pp. 83-4.) The Sioux are also referred to by Lewis and Clarke as occupying practically the whole of the region embraced between the Mississippi, the Red River of Lake Winnipeg, the Saskatchewan and the Missouri, and being "a nation whose primitive name is Darcota, but who are called Sioux by the French, Sues by the English." That of these, "what may be considered as the Darcotas," were the Mindawarcarton, or Minowakanton, "known to the French by the name of the Gens du lac, or People of the Lake," on both sides of the Mississippi near the Falls of St. Anthony, the Wahpatone on the St. Peter's; still farther up and below Yellowwood River the Wahpatootas; and the Sisatoones on the sources of the St. Peter's. That these bands "rarely if ever approach the Missouri, which is occupied by their kinsmen the Yanktons and the Tetons." And after referring to the two tribes of Yanktons-that of the north, "a wandering race of about five hundred men, who roam over the plains at the head of the Jaques, the Sioux, and the Red River; and those of the south who possess the country between the Jaques and Sioux rivers, and the Desmoines"-they add: "But the bands of Sioux most known on the Missouri are the Tetons. The first who are met on ascending the Missouri, is the tribe called by the French the Tetons of the Bois Brule, or Burntwood, who reside on both sides of the Missouri, about White and Teton rivers, and number two hundred warriors. Above them on the Missouri are the Teton Okanandas, a band of one hundred and fifty men, living below the Cheyenne River, between which and the Wetarhoo River is a third band, called the Teton Minnakenozzo, of nearly two hundred and fifty men; and below the Warreconne is the fourth and last tribe of Tetons of about three hundred men, and

called Teton Saone." They then refer to the Assiniboins of the north as being "descendants or seceders from" the Sioux. Also that the "Sioux themselves, though scattered, meet annually on the Jaques, those on the Missouri trading with those on the Mississippi." (Pp. 199-201.)

Brackenridge, who came up the Missouri River in 1810, states, in his "Views of Louisiana" (Balto. edition, 1817, pp. 155-6) : "Sioux Tribes. On an ancient map I have seen them named Naddouwessioux; the Noddouwesses of Carver, are probably a band of Sioux-are nearly all wandering tribes, and may be considered as divided into four nations, the Sioux, Teton, Assineboin and Black-feet." He then refers to the Missouri River tribes as follows: "Tetons, Bois Brule, Arkandada, Minikiniad-za, Sahone. -These are the pirates or marauders of the Missouri, their country without timber, and not good for hunting, except as to the buffaloe, they have therefore hardly any thing but buffaloe robes to trade." He then describes, in quotation, the following boundaries as limiting "The Sioux bands claim," viz: "beginning at the confluence of the riviere des Moines and the Mississippi, thence to the river St. Peters, thence on both sides of the Mississippi to Crow Wing river, and upwards with that stream, including the waters of the upper part of Red river of Lake Winipec, and down to the Pemberton river; thence a south west course to intersect the Missouri river at or near the Mandans, and with that stream, down to the Warricon river, thence crossing the Missouri, it goes to include the lower part of the Chienne river, all the waters of White river, and Teton river, including the lower portion of the Qui Courre, and returns with that stream downward to the Missouri, thence eastward to the beginning."

Catlin (who came up the Missouri in 1832, spending considerable time at Fort Pierre) says the name "Sioux" (pronounced see-oo) "is' one that has been given to them by the French traders, the meaning of which I have never learned; their own name being, in their language, Dah-co-ta." He says of that location: "I am now in the heart of the country belonging to the numerous tribes of Sioux or Dahcotas." He refers to the Sioux country as extending from the Mississippi to the base of the Rocky Mountains; says the Sioux "are everywhere a migratory or roaming tribe, divided into forty-two bands or families," and speaks of "one principal and familiar division" of them all "into what are called the Mississippi and Missouri Sioux," the former living on the Mississppi, "concentrating at Prairie du Chien and Fort Snelling," the latter constituting "the great mass of this tribe who inhabit the shores of the Missouri, and fearlessly roam on the vast plains entervening between it and the Rocky Mountains." He also mentions Fort. Pierre as "the concentrating place, and principal trading depot, for this powerful tribe, who number, when all taken together, something like forty or fifty thousand." This estimate is doubtless considerably exaggerated, as will be seen by comparing the figures which are given above, with those found below.

Lieutenant G. K. Warren, who accompanied the Sioux expedition up the Missouri in 1855 to Fort Pierre, and whose report is embodied in the Report of the Secretary of War published in 1856 (Ex. Doc. No. 76, 34th

Cong., Ist Sess., pp. 15-17), says in substance: That the Dacotas occupy most of the country from the Mississippi to the Black Hills, and from the forks of the Platte on the south to Devil's Lake on the north. That they say their name means "leagued or allied," and that they sometimes speak of themselves as the "Ocheti Shaowni," or "Seven Council Fires." That the seven principal bands composing the nation are: (1) The Mdewakantonwans, meaning village of the Spirit lake. (2) Wahpekutes, meaning leaf shooters. (3) Wahpe-tonwans, meaning village in the leaves. (4) Sisitonwans, meaning village of the marsh. That these four constitute the Mississippi and Minnesota Dakotas, and are called by those on the Missouri "Isanties." That they are estimated at 6,200 souls. (5) The Ihanktonwans, village at the end (Yanktons), sometimes called Wichiyela or "First Nation." They are found at the mouth of the Big Sioux and between it and the James, and on the opposite bank of the Missouri; supposed to number 360 lodges. "Contact with the whites hav considerably degenerated them, and their distance from the present buffalo ranges renders them comparatively poor." (6) The Ihankton-wannas, one of the "end village" bands (Yanktonais) range between the James and Missouri as high north as Devil's Lake; number 800 lodges. He adds, in quotation: "From the Wazikute branch of this band the Assiniboins, or Hohe of the Dacotas, are said to have sprung." (7) The Titonwans, village of the prairie, of whom he again quotes: "are supposed to constitute more than one-half of the whole Dacota nation." Live on west side of the Missouri, "and take within their range the Black Hills from between the forks of the Platte to the Yellowstone river." Are allied by marriage with the Sheyennes and Aricarees, "but are mortal enemies of the Pawnees." That, except a few Brules on White river,; they have never planted corn. That they are divided into seven bands, viz.: 1. Unkpapas, they who camp by themselves; live on the Missouri near mouth of Moreau, and roam from the Big Shyenne to the Yellowstone, and west to Black Hills. Formerly intermarried extensively with the Shyennes; number about 365 lodges. 2. Sihaspapas, Blackfeet. Haunts and homes same as Unkpapas; number 165 lodges. 3. Oo-he-nonpas, two boilings or two kettle band. Now very much scattered among other bands; number about 100 lodges. 4. Sichangus, burnt thighs, Brules, claim the country along White river and contiguous to it; number 480 lodges. They include the Wazazahas, "to which belonged Matoiya (the Scattering Bear), made chief of all the Dacotas by the government, and who was killed by Lieutenant Grattan." 5. Ogalalas, they who live in the mountains; live between forks of Platte, and number 360 lodges. 6. Minikanyes, they who plant by the water; live on and between the forks of the Shyenne and in Black Hills; number 200 lodges. 7. Itahzipchois, Bowpith, Sans Arc, claim in common with the Minikanyes; number 170 lodges.

Lieutenant Warren then makes the following estimate of the Dacotas, "on and west of the Missouri. which includes all but the Isanties," in the order of "Lodges," "Inmates," and "Warriors," viz.:

Yanktons, 360, 2,880, 572; Yanktonais, 800, 6,400, 1,240; Unkpapas,

365, 2,920, 584; Blackfeet, 165, 1,280, 256; Two Kettle, 100, 800, 160; brule, 480, 3,840, 748; Ogalalas, 360, 2,880, 576; Minikanyes, 200, 1,600, 272; Sans Arc, 170, 1,360, 272. The grand totals are: Lodges, 3,000; inmates, 24,000; warriors, 4,800.

'**William Laidlow** was of Scotch descent, and had been in the service of the British Fur Companies prior to his becoming connected with the Columbia Fur Company, in the interest of which latter concern he was in charge of Fort Tecumseh before that post came into possession of the American Fur Company. He had the reputation of being a hard master with those under him; was thoroughly grounded in the fur trading business; a lover of the chase; was regarded as a valuable correspondent and manager for the company. Later on and for many years after the American Fur Company became master of the fur business on the upper Missouri, he was stationed at Fort Union. Larpenteur mentions his name in that connection in 1844-5. He was somewhat given to intemperance. He possessed considerable means when he retired; owned a comfortable home near Liberty, Missouri, "where he kept open door to his friends as long as his money lasted." He died poor.

76Kenneth McKenzie, "the ablest trader that the American Fur Company ever possessed," was born of distinguished parentage in Ross-shire, Inverness, Scotland, in 1801. Was related to Alexander McKenzie, who made the first journey across the continent by white men north of the Spanish possessions (1789-93). He came to America at an early age and was employed by the British Fur Companies. His connection with the Columbia Fur Company is related in note 17, as also his connection with the Upper, Missouri Outfit thereafter. His was the task of pioneering the fur business into the newer regions in and bordering upon the mountains, when the country was beset by hostile Indians, which labor he prosecuted with enthusiasm and tireless energy. He devised Fort Union, the finest and best equipped trading post west of the Mississippi. His connection with the clandestine distillery operations at Fort Union, however, practically ended his usefulness in the fur trade. (See note 4.) He retired from the country, visited Europe, returned for a short time to Fort Union; and upon closing up his affairs with the American Fur Company was possessed of $50,000. Thereafter he established himself, but unsuccessfully, in the wholesale liquor trade; he soon parted with most of his fortune in lavish hospitality. He seemed born to command, was a most severe disciplinarian, "and he had little regard for human life when it stood in his way." His ability was undoubted, his authority dreaded. He was given to appearing in "a kind of state," wearing uniform generally, in his business. Larpenteur speaks of him as he saw him in 1834, when first meeting him at Fort Union, in this wise: "Imagine my surprise, on entering Mr. Campbell's room, to find myself in the presence of Mr. McKenzie, who was at that time considered the king of the Missouri; and from the style in which he was dressed, I thought really he was a king." He was extremely fond of buffalo hunting with trained horses; was a keen observer of the country, and collected many curios

illustrating its features. Chittenden says of him: "From his headquarters at Fort Union, McKenzie ruled over an extent of country greater than that of many a notable empire in history. His outposts were hundreds of miles away. His parties of trappers roamed far and wide through the fastnesses of the mountains. From every direction tribes of roving Indians came to his post to trade. Altogether it was a remarkable business that he followed, and one which only a man of great ability could have handled successfully." He possessed a fair education, and his correspondence in connection with the fur-trading period is said to have been "extremely well written." He married late in life and left two daughters; he also had a son by an Indian wife, whose name was Owen McKenzie, who became prominent in the upper Missouri trade. Kenneth McKenzie was killed by Malcolm Clark in St. Louis April 26, 1861. Larpenteur says he was "some near connection," and Dr. Coues that he was "some sort of a cousin" of Sir Alexander McKenzie. Speaking of his great feat in bringing the hostile Blackfeet to a treaty in the winter of 1830-1, resulting in the opening of that country to trade and the building of Fort McKenzie at the mouth of the Marias, Dr. Coues says: "McKenzie's genius was perhaps never better displayed than in this great stroke of business, which had far-reaching commercial, political, military, and even ecclesiastical consequences, in the development of the whole region over which his operations extended."

"The site of old Fort Pierre is two and seven-eighths miles above the mouth of the Teton or Bad River, and a little more than one mile west of the meridian line passing through the mouth of Bad River, it being located upon what is known in the congressional survey as Lot 3 in Section 16, Township 5 north of Range 31, east of Black Hills meridian. It is also the exact site of the dwelling house occupied by James Philip (popularly known as "Scotty" Philip) as his homestead, which embraces said site. To a close observer the outlines of the old stockade are still partially visible, and particularly the foundations of the bastion at the southeast corner of the stockade. The east line of the stockade is new within about seventy-five feet of the bank of the Missouri River, which bank is being steadily worn away at that point by inroads of the water. Captain Chittenden, who made a careful examination of the journals and correspondence of the American Fur Company at St. Louis, states that the postt was 325 by 340 feet and contained about two and a half acres of ground. The post was planned, or at least contemplated, by the company as a successor to Fort Tecumseh, as early as 1828 or 1829, and was not fully completed until about the end of 1832, but was occupied by William Laidlow and Jacob Halsey, clerks of the company, April 15, 1832. A letter is on file among the company's papers, dated Fort Tecumseh, May 10, 1832, signed by Kenneth McKenzie, and another dated Fort Pierre, June 17, 1832, signed by William Laidlow. Still another dated Fort Tecumseh, June 14, 1832. signed by Laidlow, "from Jacob Halsey addressed to Pierre Chouteau, Jr., on board the Steamer Yellowstone shows Mr. Chouteau was shortly expected at that post." The "Yellowstone" arrived at Fort Pierre from St. Louis May 31, 1832, according to

Chittenden, however, with Mr. Chouteau on board, and the new post was christened "Fort Pierre" in his honor as "representative of the house of St. Louis." It is therefore probable that the letter dated June 14 refers to the expected arrival of Mr. Chouteau back from the trip to Fort Union, as the boat returned to Fort Pierre June 24. Chittenden states that the new post was "back about a quarter of a mile from the Missouri," but this point is in doubt, as the present Pierre Chouteau, grandson of him who is mentioned in the correspondence referred to, states that the distance from the river to the fort has been variously estimated by old river pilots and those connected with the business of the American Fur Company at "from a few yards to 1,000," which latter estimate is regarded by the grandson as "nearly correct, as Fort Tecumseh was abandoned from fear of being washed away." A pen drawing has been made of old Fort Pierre for and under the supervision of Mr. Chouteau, based in part upon records and in part upon recollections of the steamboat pilots, Charles P. Chouteau, son of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and various employes of the American Fur Company, and a duplicate of the same has been presented to the writer of these notes, a reproduction of which will be found in this volume. Some of the smallest buildings within the stockade are not represented in this drawing. Besides being the finest and best equipped trading post on the upper Missouri with the single exception of Fort Union, this post was really the principal up-river trading center of the American Fur Company. Its location substantially at the confluence of the Teton with the Missouri River was the most important commercial point in the entire northwest within the limits of the Louisiana, Purchase. Here were centered various well-known Indian and trading trails and thoroughfares, connecting this point with eastern and southern trading and military centers on the James, Big Sioux, St. Peters, Minnesota, Mississippi and other streams and the lower Missouri, and westward to where Fort Laramie became established on the upper Platte-it being the nearest and most practicable point for transporting supplies from the Missouri River westward to Laramie, the Black Hills and other neighboring points-and there were trails and roads thence northward, as well as southward to the White and Platte rivers; while the Teton or Bad River route had long been the natural and usual one for Indian travel to and from remote points to the west and southwest, and eastward to the upper Mississippi and the Great Lakes region. Here Lewis and Clarke had their first serious encounter with the Sioux; here were found the headquarters of various tribes, in the form of evidences of a winter camp, in 1810, when the Hunt-Astoria expedition and the Lisa party halted on their way up the Missouri; here Catlin found the center of the Sioux country in 1832; here Fremont and Nicollet ended their up-river journey in 1839; here the Raynolds expedition took its departure from the Missouri in 1859. To old Fort Pierre came the Indian missionaries as headquarters in the process of laying foundations for civilizing the Indians in this region of country.

"**George Catlin** was born in Wyoming county, Pennsylvania, July 26. 1796, and died in Jersey City, New Jersey, December 23, 1873. He says

of himself, in his introduction to his "North American Indians": "The early part of my life was whiled away, apparently, somewhat in vain, with books reluctantly held in one hand, and a rifle or fishing-pole firmly and affectionately grasped in the other." His father was a practicing lawyer, through whom he says, "I was prevailed upon to abandon these favorite themes, and also my occasional dabblings with the brush, which had secured already a corner in my affections"; and that he "commenced reading law for a profession, under the direction of Reeve and Gould, of Connecticut." After two years he was admitted to the bar and practiced law, "as a sort of nimrodical lawyer" in Pennsylvania for "two or three" years, when, he says, "I very deliberately sold my law library and all (save my rifle and fishing-tackle), and, converting their proceeds into brushes and pots, I commenced the art of painting in Philadelphia, without teacher or adviser." For several years thereafter he applied himself assiduously to his chosen profession, during which time, he says, "my mind was continuously reaching for some branch or enterprise of art, on which to devote a whole life-time of enthusiasm." The event of a visit of "a delegation of some ten or fifteen noble and dignified looking Indians, from the wilds of the `Far West'" to Philadelphia, "arrayed in all their classic beauty-with shield and helmet, with tunic and manatee-tinted and tasselled off, exactly for the painter's pallette!" seems to have been the immediate inspiring cause of Catlin's departure to the great west and the Indian countries of the Americas in general, and of his resolve to become an Indian painter and historian. The ideal premise upon which he built his concept of his noble life-purpose was thus expressed by him: "Man, in the simplicity and loftiness of his nature, unrestrained and unfettered by the disguises of art, is surely the most beautiful model for the painter, and the country from which he hails is unquestionably the best study or school of the arts in the world: such, I am sure, from the models I have seen, is the wilderness of North America." He took his departure for the west in 1832, and spent about eight years among the American Indians in his chosen pursuit. Before leaving Philadelphia, however, he had already won such distinction as a painter, particularly in miniature water colors or ivory work, as to have been admitted as an academician in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. He had in 1828 married Clara B. Gregory. His paintings of Mrs. Dolly Madison and Governor Clinton are among the most famous of his work in the east. After completing his Indian paintings he visited Europe with his Indian gallery, and became known throughout American and Europe as the classic Indian painter. Most of his paintings long since became a prominent feature in the Smithsonian Institution. Upon arriving in the Indian country of the west and perceiving the ruthlessness with which the buffalo were being slaughtered he predicted that the species would soon become rare, if not extinct, unless the prevailing practice was repressed-and that he spoke with prophetic vision is now known. His buffalo pictures are almost as familiar in the public mind as those of leading Indian characters and scenes, weapons, etc. He made a profound study of the Indians themselves, and his observations concern-

ing their character and life, after having tarried among them for years beyond the confines of civilization, reveal a deep conviction of their native moral worth before the contaminating influences of the white man's touch had been felt-a conclusion which, in all substance, has been borne out in greater or less degree by every fair-minded student of Indian character who has registered his views upon the subject.

Catlin came up the river from St. Louis in 1832 on the steamer Yellowstone, on her second trip up the river to Fort Pierre (her first trip to that point having been made the previous year), but the steamer, which left St. Louis March 26th, grounded at or near the Ponca village in the neighborhood of the mouth of the Niobrara, and Catlin accompanied a party dispatched by Chouteau, overland to Fort Pierre, passing the Bijou Hills, which latter point they passed "after traveling for several days," and the party arrived at Fort Pierre Wednesday, May 23d, according to the entry in the post journal of that date. The entry is: "Eighteen men arrived from steamboat Yellowstone. She is stopped for want of water about sixty miles below White river." Catlin must have been sojourning at Fort Pierre for about eight days before the Yellowstone arrived there on May 31st. On the evening of June 5 she proceeded up river to Fort Union, he being on board. Catlin, after remaining at the mouth of the Yellowstone (Fort Union) several weeks, returned down the river in a canoe accompanied by his man Bogard. arriving at Fort Pierre on August 14, 1832, and left there to continue his journey down - the river, according to the entries in the journal of Fort Pierre (whose dates are used in the foregoing account as to Fort Pierre) on August 16th. Catlin, without giving dates, has recorded much general information from which can be gathered substantial conclusions as to the duration of his up-river visit to Fort Pierre. He states (Third London edition, 1842, vol. 1, p. 220), after referring to the fact of the arrival up-stream of the "Yellowstone" at that point and of the expectancy of the Indians in connection with that great event, that he commenced his operations in painting there "After resting a few days, and recovering from the fatigues of my journey, having taken a fair survey of the Sioux village, and explained my views to the Indians, as well as to the gentlemen whom I have above named" (McKenzie, Laidlow and Halsey) ; and he relates with great circumstantiality his work in painting the portraits of a large number of Sioux chiefs and braves and Indian women, speaks of the superstition engendered in the Indians thereby and of its growth into a condition somewhat alarming, and of "some considerable delay" and "much deliberation on the subject" before he could induce the women to sit for their pictures; says he was "for a long time" at loss for the cause of the Indians whose portraits had been painted, "watching or guarding their portraits"; and adds that after he had been "several weeks busily at work" with his brush there, "and pretty well used to the modes of life in these regions," it "was announced one day, that the steamer which we had left was coming in the river below, where all eyes were anxiously turned, and all ears were listening; when, at length, we discovered the puffing of her steam; and, at last, heard the thundering of her cannon,

which were firing from her deck." He then states that Mr. Chouteau and Major Sanford, Indian agent, came ashore from the steamer, and that this "seemed to restore their confidence and courage," referring to the Indians. He then adds: "The steamer rested a week or two at this place (here he overestimates the time, as she remained there only from ,lay 31st till the evening of June 5th) before she started on her voyage for the headwaters. of the Missouri," during which time much hilarity was indulged in over the appearance of the steamer, etc. (p. 227). At another time and in 1834, while at the Pipestone Quarry or near there, having met Mr. LaFromboise, he tells him what he calls the "dog story," the facts embraced in which transpired at Fort Pierre while he was there in 1832 and in connection with his painting of the Indian "The Dog"-a tragic event in its denouement--and in telling this story he says: "About four months previous to the moment I am now speaking of, I had passed up the Missouri River by this place, on the steamboat Yellowstone, on which I ascended the Missouri to the mouth of Yellow stone river." That the steamer stopped "at this trading post, and remained several weeks." We make these extensive quotations and explanations for the purpose of throwing light upon the question of the duration of Catlin's sojourning at Fort Pierre -a question which he himself leaves in entire confusion, as he gives next to no dates, and all of his six letters written, supposedly, at Fort Pierre and headed "Mouth of Teton River, Upper Missouri," are without date. That he spent about sixteen days at Fort Pierre, on the two occasions is certain, and it may be that he remained there for a longer period of time, and it is not improbable that he did, from the amount of painting done by him there, and the very extensive accounts given of the Indian country at large, with the many incidents into which he proceeds in the six letters mentioned, covering the whole subject in the sense of a historical narrative. Even supposing that some of these letters were written after he left Fort Pierre (which is indeed not improbable), yet he evidently made that point his headquarters for the purpose of arranging his notes for the greater part of his upper Missouri trip. Still, unless the Fort Pierre journal entry of May 23d refers to another party than that with which he traveled overland, he doubtless arrived at the post on that day, on the up-trip.

Catlin, after leaving Fort Pierre, passed down the river to St. Louis, afterwards proceeding to the Florida country, thence west to the Arkansas country, where he nearly lost his life in the ill-fated Fort Gibson expedition under Colonel Dodge in 1834; returning to the Mississippi at Alton, Ill., and to St. Louis again; traveling thence up the Mississippi to St. Anthony Falls and Fort Snelling, back to Camp DesMoines and St. Louis, and next appears at the Pipestone Quarries, having previously gone east of the Alleghenies and back via the Great Lakes and over the divide to Prairie du Chien; thence east to Rock Island, and finally to Fort Moultrie, S. C., in his long wanderings narrated in his "North American Indians." He also traveled in South America. His works as a whole constitute the great classic upon the American Indians, and his life-work is a monument of the devoted explorer into the realms of Indian character. That he

looked into the subject somewhat on its fantastic side, and with an enthusiasm which led him into some excesses in description and delineation, is doubtless true. Whether these tendencies have warranted some drastic criticisms and some insinuations against his integrity, which have been indulged in by his contemporaries and later historians, may be matter of doubt and dispute.

"**Jacob Halsey,** who was clerk and partner in the Upper Missouri Outfit, kept the journal at Fort Pierre; into which he at one time inter. polated "an interesting dissertation" upon the Mandan and Aricara In dians. He was also clerk at Fort Union during a number of years. His experience in the fur trade made him a valuable assistant. He was some what addicted to hard drink. The terrible visitation of smallpox at Fort Union in 1837 was occasioned by Halsey's advent to that post while stricken with the disease. He was killed near Liberty, Missouri, in 1842, while riding on horseback through some woods while intoxicated, he being then on a visit to Laidlow's home.

80Joseph LaBarge was born in St. Louis October 1, 1815, ano died there April 3, 1899. He was the most prominent of all the Missouri River pilots, having spent the most of his life in that service, principally in the employ of the American Fur Company. He at one time accumulated a large fortune in the river freight business, but subsequently lost most of his property. A man of integrity and high moral character, he was the best of his type of the Missouri River pilot. In the days of the fur trade his up-river pilotage extended from St. Louis to Fort Benton, and he was a familiar figure at all of the trading and military posts throughout that extensive stretch of country. He brought the steamboat Yellowstone up to Fort Pierre on her first trip to that point in 1831.

The Property at Fort Pierre-Following is a copy of the original memorandum description of the buildings, etc., at old Fort Pierre in 1855 and about the time of the purchase thereof by the United States, which memorandum is on file in the war department, viz:

Description of the buildings, &c. &c. at Fort Pierre, their condition and cost of repairing them.

No. 1.	**Gate 10 feet wide and 16 feet high, out repair, cost of repairing it**	**$ c 100.00**
No. 2.	**Carpenter Shop, one story, 71/2 feet high, mud, roof, house of hewed logs, dropped in horizontally between vertical posts, old and dilapidated, cost to repair it**	**800.00**
No. 3.	**Blacksmith, Tin & Saddlers shops, 71/2 feet story same as Carpenter shop, cost to repair it**	**950.00**
No. 4.	**Stables same as shops, with 20 imperfect stalls, 6 feet story for animals, with an attic hay loft to hold one ton of hay, cost to repair it**	**700.00**
No. 5.	**Store House, constructed same as shops excepting it has a shingle roof 9 feet story, with the roof attic space, but no joists (above) floor of rough hard puncheons open cracks two to four inches wide, house sinking and careening, sleepers broken roof old and leaking, cost to repair**	**1000.00**

No. 6.	Magazine of adobe one story, covered with metal, a tenable structure, cost to repair doors &floor	20.00
No. 7.	An old log house of similar construction as the shops, mud roof, now falling down, cost to repair it	500.00
No. 8.	Block House, 2 stories, shingle roof, out of repair, cost to repair it	400.00
No. 9.	Log House story and half, lower story 8 feet, out of repair, cost to repair it	400.00
No. 10.	Ice House, old and out of repair covered with shingles (worn old and worthless) cost to repair it	200.00
No. 11 & 12.	Kitchens, log hut, rotten roof, once of shingles now rotted the whole worthless cost to repair it	800.00
No. 13.	Log House 5 rooms one & a half story, floors and loft of cotton wood all open and out of tenable condition, doors, windows and roof out of repair, cost to repair it	1800.00
No. 14.	Log House one & half story, roof of old shingles. Roof, floors, doors and windows all dilapidated, cost to repair it	400.00
No. 15.	An adobe house one and half story, mud roof, out of repair, cost of repairing	350.00
No. 16.	Log Store House, now nearly fallen down, covered with old shingles, the whole house out of repair, cost of repairing	1000.00
No. 17.	Log Store House similar to the next above, cost to repair it	800.00
No. 18.	Log Huts, 7 feet story, mud roof, now falling down, eminently dangerous to inhabit, worthless, cost of making good	4500.00
No. 19.	Block House, same as Block House above mentioned, excepting it is careening down, cost to repair it	500.00
No. 20 & 21.	Mere open sheds with cotton wood poles for uprights placed in the ground, rotted and covered with slabs, open crack of 3 inches, worthless, not worth mentioning nor of service.	
No. 22.	An irregular shed house covered with old shingles, conical roof, supported on seven posts in the ground, used for sheltering horses working in the mill, the same mill being under shed	
No. 2.	Out of repair, cost to repair it	150.00
No. 23.	Horse lot gate 10 feet wide & 16 feet high, out of repair, cost to repair it	50.00
	b Horse Lot.	
	Front and North Pickets old and falling down, (rotted off at the ground)	
	cost of repairing (is that of making new)	3500.00
	Saw Mill old and worn. Repairs required	500.00
	Total cost of repairing at Fort Pierre Island.	19420.00
	4 Log Huts of the roughest possible make 7 feet high, of round logs (with bark on) covered with mud, one has fallen with	

And the following is a copy of the original contract of sale of Fort

Pierre to the United States, as found on file in the war department, viz

Memorandum of agreement made and entered into this 14th day of April, 1855. Between General Thos. S. Jesup, Quarter-Master General, U. S. Army, on behalf of the United States of the one part and General Charles Gratiot on behalf of Pierre Choteau & Company of the other part as follows: That the said Charles Gratiot as Agent of the company doth hereby agree with the said General Thos. S. Jesup, on the part of the United States, to sell to the United States for the sum of $45,o0o the trading establishment on the Missouri River, near the mouth of the Little Missouri River, called and known as "Fort Pierre," together with all the buildings within and around the Pickets of the said Fort, and all the lumber and other building materials in and around it, reference being had to the plan and description hereto annexed, and will deliver the same to such officer or agent of the United States as may be designated to receive it on or before the 30th day of June, 1855, on the arrival of said officer or agent.

It is agreed and understood, that should the fort and buildings on the arrival of the agent appointed to receive them, be found out of repair, the said Pierre Chouteau & Co., shall place them all, and singular the buildings, pickets, mill, stables, &c. &c., in good repair, order and condition, free of all expense to the United States, to make such repairs, however, should they be needed, the said Pierre Choteau & Co., to have the materials, such as lumber, &c., now on hand at the post, to enable the company to make the repairs. That the lumber and appurtenances hereby sold to, and to be delivered to the agent of the U. S., and the only articles not included in the purchase, are the merchandise, household and kitchen furniture, blacksmith's tools, carpenters, wheelwrights and saddlers tools in the shops at the establishment. That the mill is to be delivered in good working order, together with all its appurtenances, animals excepted, which now are or may be at the fort at the time of delivery and transfer.

It is agreed and distinctly understood, that the purchase includes all the buildings within the enclosure, around the fort, on the main-land and the island in the vicinity, and that any right or claim of possession now owned by the said Pierre Choteau & Co., to the land in the vicinity of the fort, and the whole island is hereby abandoned to the United States, for their use forever.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands the day and year first above written. Ch. Gratiot,

Agt. of P. Choteau & Co.,

Approved: Thos. S. Jesup,

Jeffn. Davis, Qr. Mr. General.

Secretary of War.

"**The Gates of Fort Pierre**-Whether both gates were on the east side is doubtful. The drawing made under the directions of Mr. Chouteau shows but one gate in front. It is of course probable that there were two, as appears in the plat accompanying Major Wilson's article. Yet there may have been but one front gate in the earlier days of the fort. Arthur C. VanMeter of Fort Pierre, who came with General Harney to Fort Pierre in 1855, and who has examined the pen drawing made for Mr. Chouteau, states that it is a true representation of the old post as he remembers it; and he states that there was a second gate leading from the main enclosure on the north side into the horse corral, the gate being near the northeast corner. It is not probable that the bastions

were twenty-four feet square. The plan shown in the accompanying article represents them to be eighteen feet square, which dimensions are much more likely to be in accord with the fact.

'Compare this statement with note 27.

"Relics of Fort Pierre-Some of the iron castings of the old cornmill machinery, as well as the foundation stone of the mill works, have been unearthed and are now at Fort Pierre; and it is believed that some of the remains of the earthworks of the magazine structure are still discoverable. There was also a tall flagpole in the center of the enclosure. from the top of which a flag floated, having upon it the firm name of the proprietors of the fur company.

',In this the writer is in error. Many like instances are known in connection with other trading posts. For instance: Fort Alexander (Culberson), Fort William (Sublette), Fort John (Sarpy), Fort Manuel (Lisa), Forts George and Charles (from English kings), etc.

"For an account of Nicollet, see the paper of Dr. Wm. M. Blackburn, on Dakota, edited by Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson, published in this volume.

'"**Fort Union,** or the post, first known as Fort Floyd, and afterwards as Fort Union, was built on the east side of the Missouri River about four miles (following the winding course of the river) above the confluence of the Missouri and the Yellowstone, but in a more direct line is a little more than three miles therefrom; and its location is about one and a half miles above Fort Buford, which latter is located about two miles below the mouth of the Yellowstone and on the east side of the Missouri, the long westward bend in the river making these two posts so much farther apart by water than by land. The post first called Fort Union was, however, located two hundred miles above the mouth of the Yellowstone and was built, as was Fort Union proper, in 1829, but was afterwards abandoned. Before the end of 1830 the name "Floyd" had been abandoned and that of "Fort Union" had been given to the post now under consideration. It was the first permanent post built by the American Fur Company above the Mandans, and stood as the great fur trading landmark on the Missouri above Fort Pierre, and as a substantial connecting link between the mountain trade and general traffic in that region of country. It was intended originally to facilitate the Assiniboine Indian trade as the chief feature. The name "Union" in connection therewith seems to have sprung from the desire of Kenneth McKenzie, under whose superintendence it was built, to carry out his idea of "keeping in view a union at some convenient point above with the free hunters," and thereby to control both the river and mountain trade. It was probably built in 1828, and was begun in all probability during the first half of October of that year, though Maximilian states that it was begun in 1829. Colonel Chittenden thus describes that important post:

"Fort Union was the best built post on the Missouri, and with the possible exception of Bent's fort on the Arkansas, the best in the entire

west. It was 240 by 220 feet, the shorter side facing the river, and was surrounded by a palisade of square hewn pickets about a foot thick and twenty feet high. The bastions were at the southwest and northeast corners, and consisted of square houses twenty-four feet on a side and thirty feet high, built entirely of stone, and surmounted with pyramidal roofs. There were two stories; the lower one was pierced for cannon and the upper had a balcony for better observation. The usual banquette extended around the inner wall of the fort. The entrance was large and was secured with a powerful gate, which in 1837 was changed to a double gate on account of the dangerous disposition of the Indians owing to the smallpox scourge. On the opposite side of the square from the entrance was the house of the bourgeois, a wellbuilt, commodious two-story structure, with glass windows, fireplace and other `modern conveniences.' Around the square were the barracks for the employes, the store houses, workshops, stables, a cut stone powder magazine capable of holding 50,000 pounds, and a reception room for the Indians. In the center of the court was a tall flagstaff, around which were the leathern tents of the half-breeds in the service of the company. Near the flagstaff stood one or two cannon trained upon the entrance to the fort. Somewhere in the enclosure was the famous distillery of 1833-4. All of the buildings were of cottonwood lumber, and everything was of an unusually elaborate character. Nathaniel J. Wyeth, when he visited Union in 1833, declared that he had seen no British post that could compare with it."

It is not at all certain, however, that this post was not, known as Fort Floyd until about the end of 1830; as a letter from Pierre Chouteau, Jr., to W. B. Astor, dated April 19, 1830, indicates that at that time there were three posts on the upper Missouri above Fort Pierre, viz, the Mandan post, Fort Floyd, and Fort Union 200 miles farther up. Fort Union was finished in 1833, a destructive fire having occurred February 4, 1832, materially damaging it. Catlin visited the post in 1832, Maximilian in 1833, and Audubon in 1843. Larpenteur's narrative concerning this post and his experience there while in charge (see chap. 5, et seq.) is very interesting. Audubon's Journals, vol. 2, p. 180, contains an elaborate description of the post; and in Larpenteur, vol. 1, opposite to page 68 is found what is said to be an accurate drawing of it as it appeared in 1864.

"**James Kipp**, a Canadian of German descent, who came to the Missouri in the employ of the Columbia Fur Company in 1822, was so connected with the establishing of the post of Fort Clark as that he is regarded by some writers as its founder. In May, 1822, he built a small post between the site of the future Fort Clark and "the forest in which the inhabitants of Mih-TuttA-Hang-Cush live in the winter," which was completed in November, and which was probably the first trading post built in the farther region of the upper Missouri. In November, 1825, he built a post a little below the mouth of White Earth River, for the Assiniboine trade. In the winter of 1830-1 he prepared materials for the foundation of what became known as Fort Clark (see note 6). He built

the first Fort Piegan on the Marias River in the Blackfoot country, for the American Fur Company, begun in October, 1831 (succeeded by the later Fort Piegan or McKenzie, completed by Culbertson), and in 1832 returned to Fort Clark, where he wintered in 1832-3 as clerk under Lamont, and took charge of that post in 1833 and 1834. He was long connected with the Missouri fur trade. After leaving Fort Clark he was stationed for many years at the later Fort Piegan. His name doubtless connects him with the building of the small post of Fort Kipp on the Missouri, about fifty-seven channel miles above the mouth of the Yellowstone, and probably built in the early fifties; which post was burned down prior to 1857, and it seems to have been known as one of the "Rolette Houses."

"**Fort Leavenworth** is situated on the west bank of the Missouri River about five miles north of Leavenworth city, in Kansas. Colonel Leavenworth's selection of its site, reported May 8, 1827, to the war department, marks the substantial date of its establishment and the removal of military stores from Fort Atkinson, near Council Bluffs, to that point. The location of that post was regarded by Colonel Leavenworth as the most practicable of any within twenty miles from the mouth of the Little Platte on the Missouri-his orders having been to select a site within that area. It was destined to be the initial point of departure for a great part of the fur trading and exploring expeditions towards the mountains and for Santa Fe; and the regulations of the Indian trade were carried out from that post as a general center, for many years. (See Chittenden, vol. 2, pages 630-1.)

"**Fort Piegan** was built in 1831 by James Kipp for the American Fur Company; was begun about October 15th and finished about December 25th; was named from the Piegan band of the Blackfoot Indians and established immediately to foster the beaver trade with them. It stood in the angle between the Marias and the Missouri and on the north side of the latter. An immense trade in furs was carried on there that winter by Kipp; but when he left the next spring to take his furs to Fort Union, his men refused to remain, and the post was abandoned and was soon afterwards burned by the Indians. David D. Mitchell was sent up in the summer of 1832 to assume charge of affairs at the mouth of the Marias, and upon finding the post destroyed he selected a site six miles farther up the Missouri on its north side in what became known later on as Brule Bottom, where he built a post while his party were seriously imperiled by hostile Indians. This latter post was also known as the later Fort Piegan, but its permanent name became Fort McKenzie. This post is said to have been completed by Culbertson. It was long the seat of the Blackfoot trade. This latter post stood about 120 yards back from the river, was 140 feet square and regularly built, and having "an exceptionally strong gate provided with double doors." It was occupied as late as 1843, and was in turn burned down by the Indians, largely owing, it is said, to a wanton massacre of some Indians by Chardon and Harvey (who were in charge) the preceding winter. The

spot then became known as Brule (burnt wood) Bottom, and was sometimes called Fort Brule.

"The firm name was Harvey, Primeau & Company, as it is believed: of which concern Alexander Harvey, who was a reckless desperado and bold adventurer, was the virtual head; and the company maintained for a few years a certain opposition to the American Fur Company. Harvey, many of the incidents of whose life are narrated in Larpenteur's "Forty Years on the Upper Missouri," was so notorious a character that it was said of him: "He was undoubtedly the boldest man that was ever on the Missouri-I mean in the lndian country; a man about six feet tall, weighing 160 or 170 pounds, and inclined to do right when sober." He was born and reared in St. Louis, and was much employed by the American Fur Company. His killing of the Spaniard Isidiro, and other inhuman homicides perpetrated by him, as well as the alleged conspiracy to kill him, and his participation in the Blackfoot massacre at Fort McKenzie in 1842, was living at Fort Yates in 1896. Another member of the firm was Charles Primeau, a well known fur trader on the Missouri, and for whom Fort Primeau, "which in the fifties or later stood about 300 yards from Fort Clark, at the Mandans," was named, and who also erected the Fort Primeau which was located a short distance above Fort Lafromboise in the Fort Pierre string of posts. He was born in St. Louis and had been a clerk for the American Fur Company before forming the said partnership. He also served the latter company alter his own concern mentioned was dissolved, and afterward held an appointment as government interpreter. He was living at Fort Yates in 1896. Anothei member of the firm was Charles Picotte, nephew of Honore Picotte, who was in charge of various posts for the American Fur Company for many years, who for some years was in charge of -Fort Pierre. The fourth member the firm was Bonine, who had been bookkeeper at Fort Pierre immediately preceding the formation of the opposition company.

"**Joshua Pilcher** was born at Culpepper, Virginia, March 15, 1790, and went to St. Louis during the war of 1812; was a hatter by occupation, and was also engaged in other mercantile pursuits. He became a member of the Missouri Fur Company in 1819, and was made president of that company upon the death of Manuel Lisa. He continued as head of that company until its dissolution between 1828 and 1830. He became intimately acquainted with the Indian tribes of the Missouri River region. He was employed by the American Fur Company after the dissolution of the Missouri Fur Company, and was in charge of its affairs near Council Bluffs for about two years. In 1838 he was appointed by President Van Buren to succeed General William Clark as superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, which position he held until his death in St. Louis, June 5, 1847. He was unmarried. The (late of his death is given by Billon as in 1843.

"See note 15, however.

"See note 14.

`**Fort William** was situated on the northeast bank of the Missouri River a little over two miles by land and about six miles by water below

Fort Union, and became later on substantially, though not the precise, site of Fort Buford. It was commenced August 29, 1833, and finished that fall. It was an "opposition post," and its formidable rivalry of the American Fur Company at that point gave the latter company some concern at the time; so much so that McKenzie used every resource known to the craft to put down the opposition post at all hazards. The American Fur Company, however, through its St. Louis representatives, closed a bargain with Sublette by which they agreed to take over his stock remaining at the end of the next season (1834), and to retire from the mountain trade for that season, much to the chagrin of McKenzie, who had already crushed the new company's prospects at the mouth of the Yellowstone. Fort William was abandoned after Sublette & Campbell thus sold out, and its material was worked into the Fort Union post. However, this is not the last of opposition business at that point; for some years later (the exact date is not clear) another structure composed in part of adobe was erected on its site, or very close to it, the walls of which were still standing in 1865, "when they were torn down to be used in building Fort Buford." The original Fort William was opened for trade November 15, 1833. It is thus described by Larpenteur, who assisted in its construction: "I will here describe the construction of Fort William, which was after the usual formation of trading posts. It was first erected precisely on the spot where the Fort Buford saw mill now (about 1871) stands; but then it was about 200 yards farther from the ri; er, the bank having caved into that distance. It was 150 feet front and 130 deep. The stockade was of cottonwood logs, called pickets, 18 feet in length, hewn on three sides and planted three feet in the ground. The boss' house stood back, opposite the front door; it consisted of a double cabin, having two rooms of 18x20 feet, with a passage between them 12 feet in width; two rooms for the men's quarters 16x18 feet, a carpenter's shop, blacksmith's shop, ice house, meat house, and two splendid bastions. The whole was completed by Christmas of 1833. The bastions were built more for amusement than for protection against hostile Indians," etc.

The name Fort William is found in traders' and travelers' writings from 1833 to 1866; but Dr. Coues states that "all mention of the adobe structure so-called must be distinguished from any reference to the original wooden Fort William, which only endured about a year." In 1843 the opposition post, "on or very near the original site of Fort William," was called Fort Mortimer; Audubon thus mentions it; and Boller, in 1858, speaks of seeing it in his travels, and again in 1863 he says of it: "Of old Fort William nothing was standing save a chimney or two, and portions of the crumbling adobe walls." The original post was named from William Sublette, head of the firm owning it.

This post, and both structures associated with the spot, should be distinguished from what was for a short time known as Fort William erected substantially on the site of the later Fort Laramie on the upper Platte, said Fort William having been built in 1832 by Robert Campbell, "which he named Fort William, after his friend and partner, Mr. William Sublette."

'**Fort Van Buren** was built in 1835, and named for the then vice president of the United States. A. J. Tulloch, or "The Crane," as he was called by the Indians, built it for the American Fur Company, it being the second trading post built by the company on the Yellowstone, Tulloch having left Fort Union on the expedition outfitted for its erection September 9, 1835. It stood until 1843, when Larpenteur caused it to be burned down by order of his employers, just before he built Fort Alexander. It was built for the Crow Indian trade. It stood on the south bank of the Yellowstone at the mouth of the Rosebud. This is distinctly stated by Larpenteur, by Dr. Coues, and by Lieutenant James H. Bradley in his journal of Gibbon's Sioux campaign in 1877, in which he says: "Another object of my visit to the mouth of the Rosebud was to inspect the ruins of the old trading fort that once stood there. It bore the name of Fort Van Buren," but he erroneously fixes the year 1839 for its founding. Chittenden, however, states that it stood "near the mouth of Tongue River," and his map indicates that it was located at the mouth of that river and on its western bank, but this is believed to be erroneous. The site of this post and that of Fort Cass have been confused by some writers. But Lieutenant Bradley's journal is, as to the name of the post whose ruins he visited in 1877, based upon "an old manuscript" which proves to have been that of Larpenteur himself. Lieutenant Bradley says of the old post: "The accounts of the fort represent it as having been a little over a hundred feet square, and I judge from the remains, though I have made no measurement, that it was. Seven ruined stone chimneys and a slight ridge where the palisades stood are all that is left of it. The palisades must have been burned, as the ridge is marked with cinders and ashes. * * * The fort stood on a plateau some eighteen or twenty feet above the present level of the water, a few yards from the bank of the Yellowstone, and about seventy-five feet below the delta of the Rosebud." Dr. Coues admits that in his edition of Lewis and Clark he made the error of stating that Fort Alexander was "at or near" the mouth of the Rosebud, when it should have read Fort Van Buren.

Fort Cass was built in the fall of 1832 for the American Fur Company by A. J. Tulloch (Chittenden says "Samuel" Tulloch), and was the first trading post established by the company for the Crow Indian trade. Nathaniel Wyeth, who saw it in 1833, says in his journal that it was situated "about 3 miles below the mouth of the Bighorn * * * on the east (right) bank of the Yellowstone River, is about 130 feet square, made of sapling cottonwood pickets with two bastions at the extreme corners, and was erected in the fall of 1832." It was also known as Tulloch's fort. Its location was probably something over two miles below the mouth of the Bighorn. It was abandoned in 1835. James P. Beckwourth, who states that he was employed to assist in its construction, says that he selected a site "about a mile below" the mouth of the Bighorn. He adds: "The stipulated dimensions were one hundred and twenty yards for each front, the building to be a solid square, with a block-house at opposite corners. The fort was erected of hewn logs planted perpendicularly in the ground; the walls were eighteen feet high.

As soon as the pickets were up, we built our houses inside, in order to be prepared for the approach of winter."

Fort Laramie was built in 1834, but was then known as Fort William. from William Sublette, who, with Robert Campbell, his partner, established the post, Campbell having superintended its construction. It stood substantially at the confluence of the Laramie with the North Platte River, being situated about one and one-half miles above the mouth of the Laramie and on its left (north) bank. The work was begun about June 12, 1834. Sublette sold it to Fitzpatrick, Milton Sublette and Bridger in 1835, and the new owners sold out to Fontenelle that year, through whom it became virtually the property of the American Fur Company. Then or soon thereafter it became known as Fort John, for John B. Sarpy. Its early history is involved in obscurity. Dr. F. A. Wislizenus of St. Louis, who in 1839 made an expedition to the mountains, refers to it as being rectangular in shape, 80 by 100 feet, surrounded by a palisade of cottonwood pickets 15 feet high, with flanking towers on three sides and a very strong gate. At that time the name Laramie was becoming prevalent in connection with the post, and finally replaced Fort John, but it was known under the latter name in business transactions of the American Fur Company. Some time before 1846 another post was built about a mile farther up stream, which was christened Fort Laramie. Fort John was probably demolished soon after. About 1849 the American Fur Company sold out to the government and moved down the river some distance. This transaction marked the date of the beginning of the famous military post of Fort Laramie, which for many years stood as a frontier outpost and the great military sentinel at the eastern foot of the Rocky Mountains on the Oregon trail. This point on the Platte was of large importance in the process of settlement of the far west. It was a general stopping place for travelers and emigrants on their way westward, the next station of note being Fort Bridger west of the continental divide and 397 miles beyond Laramie. It was also the junction of the Fort Pierre trail with the Oregon trail, and was thus of much significance in the operations of the American Fur Company and of general travel from the upper Missouri westward.

This location took its name originally from one La Ramie, one of the pioneer Canadian voyageurs or trappers in the beaver trade. The crossing was known as Laramie before any post was built there. The place became a rendezvous for the Ogalalla Sioux in 1835 when known as Fort John. Dr. Coues says: "By 1836 the pickets were rotting, and the American Fur Company replaced the original stockade with an adobe structure, the last traces of which did not disappear until 1862. With the old pickets also went the name Fort John, and Fort Laramie the post was always afterwards. It was held by the American Fur Company until 1849, when it was sold to the United States government, and became a military post in July of that year. * * * How important a place Fort Laramie was in those years, and for long subsequently, may be inferred from the fact that in 1850 wagon trains and other outfits representing an aggregate of 40,000 animals crossed Laramie River below the fort." Dr. Cones also

speaks of having "an unpunblished sketch" of Fort Laramie. A plate of the adobe fort as it was in 1842 faces page 40 of Fremont's Report of his Explorations to the Rocky Mountains, etc., which shows the walls to have been high and substantial, while there were bastions at opposite corners, each two stories with turreted roofs, one bastion being in fact a double one, one on each side of the wall.

In connection with the subject of the Oregon trail, it may not be out of place to state that by far the most comprehensive and complete account of that great overland highway which has come to the notice of the writer of these notes, is found in Colonel Chittenden's "Fur Trade of the Far West," from which work very much of information has been gleaned in preparing said notes. Also, that Francis Parkman sojourned for some time at Fort Laramie while preparing his history of the Oregon trail.

Alexander Culbertson, of Scotch-Irish parentage, was born in May, 1809, in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and died August 27, 1879, at Orleans, Missouri. Reared on a farm, he went to Florida with a kinsman in 1826, and was there during the Indian war. Entering the American Fur Company's service in 1829, he advanced rapidly and was the most important man in the employ of the company when McKenzie and Laidlow retired. He was for many years in charge of Fort Union, and for a time also of Fort John on the Laramie. He completed the later Fort Piegan or McKenzie, and about 1845 he built Fort Lewis on the Missouri, which he rebuilt some seven miles down the river and about ten miles above the mouth of the Marias, and which latter became the famous Fort Benton at the head of navigation. Fort Alexander, the third Crow post, on the Yellowstone near the mouth of the Bighorn and some twenty miles by lard above Fort Van Buren, was named for him by Larpenteur, who built it pursuant to his instructions, in 1842. Culbertson was possessed of popular and generous traits and was devoid of the arbitrary characteristics of McKenzie and Laidlow. His wife was a Blackfoot woman who became prominent in the upper Missouri country, and the family of children were "well educated and became responsible business men and women." His career in the fur trade reached its climax after some of the old pioneers had left the stage of action.

Sec note 48.

Fort Lewis, afterwards known as Fort Benton, was built in 1844 by Alexander Culbertson for the American Fur Company, on the right bank of the Missouri River opposite to or near Pablois island, which island Chittenden says is "about 18 miles above where the Fort Benton bridge now crosses the river," he stating that this post was probably built in 1845. It was named for Captain Meriweather Lewis, the explorer, and the occasion of its being built where located was, that Culbertson moved the post of Fort Chardon, which had been built at the mouth of the Judith in the summer or fall of 1843, down to that point. The new post of Fort Lewis was, however, torn down in 1847, it having been abandoned in 1846 on account of its unfavorable location for trade, and a new Fort Lewis was built "in a more favorable location farther down stream and on the

left bank." Accounts differ as to just when the new Fort Lewis came to be known as Fort Benton, the famous post at the head of navigation of the Missouri. The (late generally given is 1846, which is the year of its building. But Chittenden says: "The name Lewis was retained for several years. In 1850 the post was rebuilt of adobe and was dedicated amid grand festivities on Christmas day of that year. At the same time it was rechristened by Mr. Culbertson Fort Benton in honor of Thomas Benton, who had so often rescued the company from disaster."

Fort Benton, therefore, became heir to Fort Lewis. Its location may be more accurately indicated, perhaps, by reference to the mouth of the Marias River, which had for so long been the theater of the Blackfoot trade. Fort Benton is about 28 miles above the mouth of the Marias and on the left or north bank of the Missouri, and about seven miles below Fort Lewis. Dr. Coues says of it: "Benton fell heir to all the glories of Union when the latter succumbed to Buford; it became an emporium, the entrepot of the whole northwest. In the winter of 1862-63 about 35 persons lived at Benton. In 1864 it was sold by the American Fur Company to the Northwest company; in October of 1869 it was occupied by United States troops, mainly as an entrepot for Fort Shaw, on Sun River, and Fort Ellis; on the Gallatin near Bozeman, both of which posts started in 1867. Before 1865, the steamboat arrivals had ranged from none to four each summer; there were eight in 1865, and next year the number leaped up to 31," etc. He adds that after military occupation the arrivals fell off heavily from year to year; that the river trade was killed and the importance of Fort Benton began to wane after the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba branch of the Great Northern was built past that point; and he says of the post as he saw it in October, 1893: "1 viewed the crumbling ruins of disused Fort Benton, close to the river bank, about the lower end of the town, which reached a mile up the river. Relics of departed greatness still stood at the water's edge, in the shape of snubbing posts at which the boats used to tie up; but the shriek of the locomotive told another story as the train rattled by the bluffs, a mile and a half back of town." (See Larpenteur, vol. 1, pp. 111, 218; vol. 2, pp. 237-8, 258; Chittenden, vol. 3, pp. 962-3.)

The Fort Benton on the Missouri should not be confounded with the Fort Benton which was built by the Missouri Fur Company under Joshua Pilcher on the Yellowstone at the mouth of the Bighorn, probably in 1822. Chittenden (vol. 1, pp. 150-1) refers to it variously as having been established "in the fall of 1821," and as having been the point of departure of the Jones-Immel party "in the spring of 1823"; while he elsewhere (vol. 3, p. 964), says it was built in 1822 and abandoned the next year. Fort Manuel, or Fort Lisa, had been built at the mouth of the Bighorn in 1807, and Chittenden is not certain whether Fort Benton now in question was built upon -the same site..

62See note 51.

Fort Berthold was located in what is now McLean county, North Dakota, about 125 miles by water above Bismarck and some forty miles

above the mouth of the Big Knife River. It stood on the left or north bank of the Missouri. The Hidatsa Indians moved up there from Knife River, in 1845, the Mandans following soon after. Soon after the Hidatsas went there the American Fur Company, assisted by the Indians, built in 1845 a stockaded post and named it Fort Berthold in honor of a St. Louis gentleman of that name. It was built on the extreme southern edge of a bluff, on land which has since been nearly or entirely carried away by the water. In 1859 an opposition post was erected some little distance east of and farther back from the river than Berthold (the Indian village being, apparently, between the two posts) which was called Fort Atkinson. The Arickarees joined the other Indians there in 1862, in which year the opposition post passed into the hands of the American Fur Company, by whom it was occupied, they transferring to it the name of Fort Berthold, and abandoning the old stockade, which was nearly destroyed on December 24, 1862, by a Sioux war party. Larpenteur relates many incidents of his experiences at this post, but leaves no description of it. Dr. Washington Mathews, who has contributed a valuable note upon these two posts in "Larpenteur," says of the incident last mentioned: "This was a memorable Christmas eve in the annals of Berthold. The Sioux came near capturing the post; but the little citizen garrison defended itself bravely, and at length the Sioux withdrew." He adds: "When I came to Berthold, in the autumn of 1865, there were one or two houses of hewn logs, occupied by Indians, standing close to the edge of the bluff, which, I was told, were the remains of old Fort Berthold. The pictures I have sent you (Dr. Coues) with the name of Fort Berthold attached represent the structure which was originally named Fort Atkinson. Like other posts in the Indian country, it was quadrilateral. Three sides of it were accidentally burned October 12, 1874. At the time of this fire and for some time afterward it was occupied by the United States Indian agency. When the remaining side was abandoned or when it was razed I do not know. Within a year I have heard from there that not a vestige of the old fort or village is left, except such as the archeologist alone might discover." He adds that he thinks the first military occupation of the post was in 1864 under General Sully, and thenceforward until about 1867, when the troops were withdrawn and transferred to Fort Stevenson (about twenty miles below on the same side of the river) ; that when the troops first moved into Fort Berthold the traders had to move out and build quarters outside for themselves, and that after the troops were withdrawn the traders returned for a short time, then made way for the Indian agency. The note of Dr. Mathews was written shortly before the publication of "Larpenteur," which was published in 1898. Dr. Coues is authority for the statement that the recent status of Berthold "was that of an Indian reservation, agency, mission, etc., where were supplied the temporal and spiritual needs of the once powerful, then decrepit, degenerate, and mongrelized, Mandans, Arickaras, and Hidatsas, who drew their rations regularly while they hung in an uncertain balance of old and new superstitions." The reservation referred to is the socalled Fort Berthold Reservation, or the reservation within which the

Aricaras, Gros Ventres and Mandans were located, some distance above the agency, which reservation has since been reduced to a fraction of its original area. (See Larpenteur, vol. 2, pp. 385-7. For further information, consult Coues' edition of Lewis and Clark [1893], pp. 262, 265.)

Fort Galpin, built in 1862 by Larpenteur, and which was in some sense an "opposition" post, may perhaps be appropriately referred to in this connection, though built long after the period mentioned by the writer; as it was named for Charles E. Galpin, mentioned in the text. It stood on the left or north bank of the Missouri, opposite Moose Point, otherwise known as El Paso Point; and while Larpenteur says it was about ten miles above Milk River at "the head of Moose Point," the location is said to be by measurement twelve and one-half miles by channel above Milk River, the large bend of the river having contracted somewhat since that time. In Larpenteur (p. 344) is a map of the vicinity, including the site of Fort Peck, nearly four miles up the river by land, of which latter post Coues says: "Fort Peck was flourishing in 1874, when I was there, but has since been abandoned." Larpenteur, who had been doing business with one Lemon on the upper Missouri and who had sold out to Joseph La Barge and afterwards arranged for division of profits on further business with La Barge, Harkness & Co., again went up the river, reaching Milk River "late in August" (1862), to build this post. He says: "Here I erected a handsome, good little fort," etc. During the winter of 1862-3 Indians threatened to attack the post, but did not do so. In July, 1864, Sioux attacked the post, killing several men, when the post was abandoned.

LaBarge, Harkness & Co., whose opposition posts were built about 1862- including Fort Lafromboise in the immediate vicinity of old Fort Pierre-organized in the spring of 1862, the partners being Eugene Jaccard, James Harkness, Joseph La Barge, John La Barge, and William Galpin, each partner supposedly contributing $10,000. They purchased the steamers Shreveport and Emilie, captained respectively by the La Barges, the former boat leaving St. Louis April 30, the latter May 10, 1862; the Emilie landed June 17 at Fort Benton, and the party proceeded to lay the foundations for

Fort La Barge, located one and one-half miles above Fort Benton; and Harkness' diary, June 28, had this entry: "Laid out Fort La Barge, three hundred by two hundred feet. Madam La Barge drove the first stake and my daughter, Margaret, the second." Under date of September 20, 1862, on their way down the river, Harkness makes this entry in his diary concerning Fort Lafromboise: "Found ourselves within one-half mile of our new post, just above Fort Pierre. Staid two hours with Lapamboise (LaFromboise) ; * * * his house is the best and goods in better order than any," etc. The William Galpin who was a partner in this concern should not be confounded with Charles E. Galpin; the latter built (but for the American Fur Company)

Fort Galpin, which was erected in 1857, or begun and partly completed that year, the occasion being the disposal by the American Fur Company to the government of old Fort Pierre. Fort Galpin stood in the neighbor-

hood of two miles above Fort Pierre on the west bank of the Missouri. Marcel C. Rosseau (now deceased), who came to old Fort Pierre in the fall of 1857 and who was clerk in that establishment for several years, states that they were building the Fort Galpin stockade when he arrived in the fall of that year. La Barge, Harkness & Co. were not in any way connected with this post. The stockade was about 125 feet square, was built similarly to Fort Pierre, but had no bastions. There were buildings forming part of the square, with stockades between, and the front was stockaded, as was about two-thirds of the entire enclosure. Galpin was in charge.

Fort LaFramboise, or Fromboise, was, as is seen, built by La Barge, Harkness & Co. in the summer and fall of 1862. It was located about eight miles above the mouth of Bad River, and, with the exception of Fort Primeau, was the most northerly of the many trading posts which have been erected on the Missouri substantially at Fort Pierre. It stood on higher ground than the posts to the southward, being at the upper end of the stretch of river bottom land extending from Bad River northward to' where the bluffs close in on the river. It was built by 'Francois La Fromboise, who was in charge while the post was occupied. There was no stockade, the buildings forming the substantial enclosure. It is said by one informant: "There was quite a little space in the inclosure, and it had a big gate to it to go in at. In the main building were port holes, on the back side of the building. It didn't stay there long." (See Larpenteur, pp. 340-1, 343, 362-3, 366, etc., as to Fort Galpin, p. 339 as to Fort La Barge and La Fromboise.)

Fort Campbell, here referred to, seems to be but imperfectly known to the annals of the fur trade, and its precise location is not clear.

There was a small post known as Fort Campbell, and named for one Thomas Campbell-of whom Dr. Coues remarks that he was "a great character in those parts when I was there in 1874"-located in the outskirts of Fort Benton village and "two squares" from the Grand Union Hotel, as related by that author. And Sublette & Campbell had a post in 1833 "a little below" Lisa's fort above the mouth of Knife River on the Missouri; it is not certain whether it was called Fort Campbell.

This name occurs in some records by mistake. It should read Larpenteur. Some other writers have been similarly misled.

Fort Alexander, the third trading post built by the American Fur Company on the Yellowstone, was erected by Larpenteur in 1842 on the left or north bank of the Yellowstone on what was known as Adams' Prairie, and some twenty miles by land above Fort Van Buren (which latter was at the mouth of the Rosebud). It was built immediately after Fort Van Buren had been burned pursuant to instructions from the company, and was named for Alexander Culbertson. Larpenteur received instructions, "the latter part of May," from Culbertson, to proceed from Fort Union to Fort Van Buren to "bring down the returns," and also to construct Fort Alexander, and started the following day; his party were proceeding with the work during the fall, and he says of this

post: "In the meantime the work on Fort Alexander was progressing finely; my men were good hands, determined to put up a well-built little fort, which was very nearly completed by the 15th of November." He then laments the fact that, expecting to be placed in charge of the post, the company placed a Mr. Murray, a Scotchman who had been in charge of Fort Van Buren, in charge, he himself returning to Fort Union, where, being a sober man, he "was wanted mighty bad in the liquor department." Chittenden believes this post was built in 1839, as it was mentioned in the company's license for that year, though recognizing Larpenteur's claim that it was built in 1842. The post was abandoned in 1850. It was not located, as seems to be understood by Chittenden, "opposite the mouth of the Rosebud." Considerable confusion has arisen as to the relative sites of the American Fur Company's posts on the Yellowstone.

Fort Sarpy, built by the American Fur Company, and its fourth and last post on the Yellowstone, stood about twenty-five miles below the mouth of the Bighorn and on the south side of the Yellowstone. It took its name from John B. Sarpy, after whose Christian name Fort John on the Laramie was christened. Dr. Coues is in error in placing this post "at the mouth of the Rosebud." It was built in 1850, and is said to have been abandoned "between September, 1859, and September, 1860. It was one hundred feet square, having pickets fifteen feet high, but without flanking arrangements. Dr. Coues says it "lasted" six years.

See note 50.

John B. Sarpy was born in St. Louis January 12, 1798, and died April 1, 1857. His father was Gregoire Berald Sarpy, reputed to be the first man to attempt to navigate the Missouri with keel boats. After completing his school course he was employed as a clerk in the mercantile house of Berthold & Chouteau, with whom, says Billon, "he continued associated throughout the various changes of the house for the balance of his life." He in time became a partner in the American Fur Company, being second only to Chouteau in that concern. Fort John on the Laramie, and Fort Sarpy on the Yellowstone, were named after him. (And see note 58.)

General Charles Gratiot, the eldest son of Charles Gratiot, Sr., was born in St. Louis August 29, 1786. In 1804 he was appointed to the military academy at West Point, from which he graduated in 1806, and was assigned to the corps of engineers as second lieutenant in October, 1806. In 1808 he was promoted to a captaincy; in February, 1815, was made major; lieutenant colonel in March, 1819; colonel and engineer in chief in May, 1828. He served throughout the war of 1812-15 on the western frontier. He built Fort Gratiot at the foot of Lake Huron, planned and superintended the construction of Fortress Monroe, where he was stationed many years, and was retired from the army in December, 1838. He (lied in Washington City, May 18, 1855. (See Billon's St. Louis, pp. 172-3.)

Basile Clement (Claymore), who was then in the employ of the American Fur Company and had been since 1840, at old Fort Pierre, states that he went from that post with Major Wessler (Wessells) to meet General Harney on the White River. He says: "We came back with Harney's troops to Fort Pierre; and he had about 1,600, and Wessler went with about 700 to meet him. He came up on a steamboat from below, while Harney was up the Platte, and went from Fort Pierre to meet him. He had the Second Infantry. Harney wintered at Fort Pierre. He had the Sixth Infantry and Second Cavalry. Major Howard commanded the cavalry, and Colonel Montgomery commanded the infantry."

Major Wessell's winter quarters above Fort Pierre were on what is known as Peoria Bottom, substantially opposite the point where Fort La Fromboise was situated. Another detachment of Harney's troops wintered at the upper end of Peoria Bottom, opposite, or just below, a point opposite to the mouth of Chantier Creek, and in the immediate vicinity of what was known as the "Navy Yard" of the American Fur Company. The "Navy Yard" was so calved from the fact that the timber for outfitting certain river craft, and for general repairs, etc., in connection with the company's business at Fort Pierre was cut and worked up at the mouth of Chantier Creek. The American Fur' Company during the winter here in question, and while Harney had possession of Fort Pierre, had a temporary headquarters on Peoria Bottom about half way between the upper and lower winter quarters of Harney's troops as above stated. Some of the little log structures in which some of Harney's subordinate officers wintered at that time are still in existence though badly dilapidated, and they are situated within eighty rods or so of the Oahe Mission establishment and a little west from south of the mission, and a short distance from the river bank. The mission is about three-fourths of the way up towards the end of Peoria Bottom, and about seventeen miles above Pierre. The "Navy Yard" was about eighteen miles by water above Fort Pierre, the location being at the west end of the peninsula formed by the wide sweep of the Missouri southwestward from Okobojo island and its eastward bend below the mouth of Chantier Creek.

At or below what was known as Brock's Bottom.

Charles E. Galpin, familiarly known as "Major" Galpin, was, for many years connected with the fur and Indian trade on the upper Missouri. He was in charge of old Fort Pierre when it was sold to the United States, and, as stated by the author, figured prominently in the negotiations leading up to the sale of the establishment, some of his correspondence with the government being very interesting as well as suggestive of resources in placing the property in a favorable light. Dr. Mathews, who furnishes a brief account of him in a note to Larpenteur's "Forty Years a Fur Trader," thus speaks of him: "He was called `Major' Galpin, but I never knew why. Perhaps he was once an Indian agentall Indian agents were dubbed major in those days; perhaps he had belonged to a militia regiment; but most likely the title was a sort of `Kentucky brevet.' I have heard that when he was well on in his cups. he

used to introduce himself to the whole world as `Major Galpin of Dakota, a gentleman of the old school.' He came into the Dakota country in 1839. 1 met him twice; once at Fort Berthold, in 1865, when he was in the lndian trade, and once at Fort Rice, in 1868, when he kept a sutler store and did some Indian trade. From Fort Rice he went to one of the then newly established agencies-Grand River, I think-where he died about 1870. He was a tall, fine looking man of good presence and had evidently had good early advantages. He was married to a mixed blood Sioux woman, sister oi' Charles Picotte, of unusually fine character, and by her had several children, all of whom, I think, are dead. In Dr. F. V. Hayden's `Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley,' in Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc., there is a picture of her (fig. 4), with one of her children on her knee, and a flattering notice of her on p. 457." A small trading post built by Larpenteur for the American Fur Company near the mouth of Milk River in 1862 was named for him. Fort Galpin, another post of that name, was built by Galpin soon after old Fort Pierre was sold to the government it was situated about two miles north of the site of old Fort Pierre, and was begun in 1857, as the stockade was being built for it when Marcel C. Rosseau, who came there that fall, arrived and who became bookkeeper for the American Fur Company until about 1860. This Fort Galpin was built for the American Fur Company. It was about 125 feet square, and was built similarly to Fort Pierre, but had no bastions. There were various buildings forming part of the enclosure, with a stockade extending between them, and the front was stockaded. The stockade proper constituted about two-thirds of the entire enclosure. The precise date of its abandonment is not clear, but the new Fort Pierre superseded Fort Galpin; and Galpin was in charge of the various posts at Fort Pierre used by the American Fur Company from the time of the erection of Fort Galpin until the company went out of business at that point. And he assisted in hauling timber from old Fort Pierre with which to construct a store on the east side of the river near the original Fort Sully at Farm Island. about 1865.

Fort Randall was abandoned July 22, 1884.

That is, the west bank, as indicated by the author's supposed attitude of ascending the river.

Fort La Fromboise, in the Fort Pierre group, and known in the sixties, was situated at the extreme upper end of the bottom above old Fort Pierre and eight miles or a little more above the mouth of Bad River, opposite Lost Island, and on considerably higher ground than the bottom on which the lower posts were located. It was built for La Barge, Harkness & Co. in the spring of 1862, though it may have been commenced somewhat earlier. (See note 54 on La Barge. Harkness & Co.) It was not long used by the firm for whom it was built, but it stood there for a number of years after it was abandoned by them; and as shown in the article to which this note is appended, it was occupied by some of General Sully's troops later on. Francois LaFromboise, a nephew of old Joseph LaFromboise, built and was in charge of it. It does not seem at all cer-

tain that any post in the immediate neighborhood of old Fort Pierre and known as Fort LaFromboise existed in 1857 or 1858, as is supposed by Major Wilson; while it is possible that, as Frank LaFromboise was in that neighborhood in those years, the Galpin post might have been called after LaFromboise by some persons, though this is merely a surmise.

This Fort LaFromboise had no regular stockade as an enclosure, but the post buildings constituted substantially the enclosure. Ronald Rosseau, who was employed by the American Fur Company for several years at Fort Pierre, says of Fort LaFromboise: "There was quite a little space in the inclosure, and it had a big gate to it to go in at. In the main building was port holes, on the back side of the building. It didn't stay there long. LaFramboise was in charge."

This post is thus referred to in Dr. Coues' note to "Larpenteur," page 339, by way of quotation from Mr. Harkness' diary of the up-river trip of his company in 1862, and after stating that this post was made on that trip: "Found ourselves within one-half mile of our new post, just above Fort Pierre. Staid two hours with Lapambois (LaFramboise; his house is the best and goods in better order than any." This notation by Harkness was made on the down-trip and after his company had been up to a point "a mile and a half above Fort Benton" and built a Fort La Barge at that point that year (1862); and the Fort Pierre memorandum in question was made September 20 of that year:

As to Joseph LaFromboise having established a Fort LaFramboise at or about the site in question in 1857 or 1858, as Major Wilson indicates, there is no other authority at hand by which the statement can be verified, yet such a thing is possible in the maze of posts, large and small, at various times located above Teton River on the Missouri.

The Fort LaFromboise the subject of this note will of course be kept in mind as distinguished from the old Fort LaFromboise which was the original trading post at the mouth of the Teton and built by Joseph LaFromboiso in 1817.

Fort Randall is 150 miles or more below Fort Pierre.

Bear's Rib was killed in June, 1862, just outside of the new Fort Pierre post, situated about one and seven-eighths miles above the original Fort Pierre. Joseph Wandel, an old squaw man, gave to the writer ef this note the following characteristic narrative of the killing of Bear's Rib, as the facts were recounted to him by David Gallineaux, another early settler in the vicinity of Fort Pierre; Mr. Wandel being at the time of making this statement on the bottom south of the present city of Fort Pierre, October 14, 1901:

After stating that Gallineaux came up to the American Fur Company's sub-post at the mouth of Cherry Creek on the Cheyenne River, where Wandel and others were in charge, he proceeds: "He says, `We had the worst thing that ever happened at Fort Pierre; they killed all the cattle at Fort Pierre and we had to go to Sioux City to get cattle te take buffalo robes down.' I says, `What's been the matter?' He says, `All the hostile Indians come on and they killed Bear Ribs,' that was the

head chief of all the Indians. He said the way it happened, there was Bear Rib and all his tribe, the Two Kettle band and the Minnekonjos was
down here on the Bad River killing buffalo, and a party come into Fort Pierre from the hostile camp and reported that they was coming in on
purpose to kill Bear Rib. One of the Indians of the Two Kettle band was at the fort when the hostiles come in, and he reported to Bear Rib that they had come in to kill him. Bear Rib just laughed at him at the time, and said that he didn't think they was brave enough. Then he says, 'I am going up to see them,' and Bear Rib had a mule and he and his son and a head man said, 'We better go with you.' He says, 'No, they ain't brave enough to kill me, I'll go alone.' He went up and went in and tied his mule right above their camp to a post there, and then he went in to Mr. Primeau; and Primeau had a family, and as quick as Bear Rib come in Primeau told his wife to give him some coffee and bread. He refused it; he says, 'No,' he had bad news and wouldn't eat anything. While he was talking about the bad news there was a shot fired, and after that shot was fired a fellow at the camp come in and told Bear Rib that they had shot his mule. Then Bear Rib says, 'I'll go out and see,' and he carried a double-barreled shotgun, and he went out and didn't see anybody standing around, they was all in their tepees, and the closest tepee to him was about thirty steps. Then he looked at his mule and he says, 'This is three times that you done such tricks to me,' and he says, 'This is the third time that such a thing has happened, they done that before;' he says, 'This is the third time,' and a fellow in the next tepee just fired at him at that time before he had it all said out. But as quick as that shot went out Bear Rib put up his gun and fired and shot and killed the same one. And Bear Rib was going to kill another one, but the bullet" (meaning the one striking Bear's Rib) "went through the forearm and through the heart on the left side; and the other fellow" (meaning the one first shot at by Bear's Rib) "fell dead; but while he couldn't take good aim he shot again and shot one and wounded himhe fired two shots and then he fell. After he fell all the Indians rushed, and the gate was opened-they rushed right into that fort, women and children, and everything they could take hold of, only the buffalo robes outside. After they all was in they closed the gate and the fort was crowded with Indians and every house and piece of ground was full of hostile Indians. While this happened one of Bear Rib's party was at the fort. he run down here" (pointing up Bad River bottom) "to Bear Rib's camp here on Bad River and said, 'Bear Rib is killed, the hostiles killed him.' It was Mouse that got shot and wounded, that killed him. Then in about fifteen minutes afterwards every Indian had throwed blankets and robes and leggins and stockings and everything away, and all naked and went into the creek and put mud all over their hair, and took their horses, and got on their horses and went up to Fort Pierre, but it was closed, the gate was closed by the hostiles inside. White men in there was scared to death. Those Indians down here was friendly Indians, and they went up to the gate and knocked on the gate, and said, 'Open that gate,' No answer, and they hollered again, 'Open that gate,' but no an-

swer, and they couldn't knock the gate through, it was so solid. Well, them Indians laid around there behind wood piles and called for Primeau to open the gate, but he dasn't do it. They wouldn't open the gate, although the outside people called them cowards and everything else. Primeau was afraid they would burn it up, he says to the chiefs, `The best thing for you to do is to make it up with them; there's only one man killed on either side, and pay for it, and pay big.' Finally they agreed right away with Primeau, that they would pay for Bear Rib. But before this happened the outside party killed every dog and every horse outside. There was an old squaw had a travois and a mule in front of it; she run up towards the hills, and they headed her off and found that there was a man sitting in there, and it was old Yellow Hawk knocked the mule down and shot the man that was riding with the woman-it was Mouse -and he shot him right through the head; and his carcass laid there for years afterwards, and the mule bones. I passed there years afterwards and see the bones. Primeau made a speech to the rest of them in there, and they agreed to pay Bear Rib's son in horses for his father. And only for old man Primeau there would have been no bargain made. He done the best he could to get them to make a bargain; it was dangerous for him. The fellows on the outside could have cleaned them out; they had guns and everything. They give this hostile party just so much time to go away and skip, and they run as fast as they could, and Primeau kept them quiet, so they (meaning the Bear's Rib band) wouldn't follow them right away. But they followed them two hours afterwards, and they never stopped to camp anywhere for three days afterwards, they was so scared at the party behind them."

Louis LaPlant and Basile Clement (Claymore) were present and standing near Bear's Rib when lie was shot, LaPlant catching him as he fell. When shot he stood some twenty feet south of the southeast bastion corner of the post, where LaPlant and others were cooking coffee at a campfire. The body was buried near the post and by the authorities of the post and numerous friendly Indians. Claymore says of Bear's Rib's killing: "Jealousy caused it. Bear Rib had so much influence with the whites that they were jealous of him." It is not at all improbable that the tact that General Harney recognized Bear's Rib as the head chief of the Sioux in the negotiations which had recently gone on, also had something to do with the hostility of those of the Indians who stood out against the government, towards him. Claymore states that the Indians who killed Bear's Rib were Ousta, or One-That-Limps, and Tonkalla, or Mouse.

This is an error. Fort LaFramboise was some three miles up the river from the new Fort Pierre, at which latter post the killing of Bear's Rib undoubtedly occurred. Fort LaFramboise was built in 1862 for La Barge, Harkness & Company, and it was Francois or Frank LaFramboise who was in charge of it during its existence. It will be seen that the description here given by the author of what he designates as Fort La Framboise, substantially describes the new Fort Pierre, and the fact that Major Wilson states that this post "soon became known as Fort Pierre,

though it was a most unworthy and insignificant successor to the original," indicates that the post of which he speaks was in fact the successor to the old one. The author is likewise in error wherein he states that "the island in the river opposite old Fort Pierre is known to this day as LaFramboise Island;" as LaFramboise Island is more than three miles below the site of old Fort Pierre and is situated between the cities of Fort Pierre and Pierre, or rather, it is substantially opposite Pierre, while the upper end of it is below the mouth of Teton or Bad River, the sandbar, however, extending for over a mile up the river above the wooded part of the island or the island proper. This island has always been known in the government records and maps as LaFramboise Island, but is also known as Rivers Island, from one Joseph Rivers, a squaw-man who resided upon it for some years prior to the opening of the ceded portion of the Sioux reservation in 1890, and it is now known also as Goddard's Island, from Paul R. Goddard, who made homestead entry for a portion of it. Major Wilson is correct, however, in placing Fort La Framboise opposite the island known as Lost Island, but that island is over two miles above the site of the new Fort Pierre post.

The series of islands in the Missouri River in the vicinity of Pierre and Fort Pierre cities is as follows, reckoning from the lower river upstream: Farm Island, whose upper end is about four and one-half miles below the mouth of Bad River; LaFramboise Island (described above) ; Marion Island, whose lower end is about one-fourth of a mile above the mouth of Bad River, and whose upper end is about one and one-half miles farther up-stream and a little above a point opposite the boat landing and stockyards at Pierre; Willow Island, whose lower end is almost coincident with the upper end of Marion Island, and which is about one mile long; and the next considerable island is Lost Island, whose lower end is about four miles above Willow Island, and is situated at the point where the Missouri turns south after running east by Peoria Bottom, and is about one mile in length. There are several sandbars which are to some extent covered by willows, etc., between Willow and Lost islands.

See note 69.

The Second or New Fort Pierre was situated one and seven-eighths milts above (north) of the old Fort Pierre, and some twenty rods or so south of the southern end of the so-called Seven-Mile Timber, and opposite the lower end of an island at that point in the Missouri River. The stockade foundations are still plainly visible, as are also various excavations inside of the stockade lines, and which are evidently foundations of buildings, or cellars, etc. The stockade was about 125 feet long on each of the four sides, and there were bastions at the northwest and southeast corners, precisely the same as in the old Fort Pierre, after which the new post was, by all authorities, modeled, though much smaller in extent. The front gate (on the east side) was not far from the southeast corner, there being one building between the bastion at that corner and the gate. It was built in 1859, but some work was probably done upon it the previous year. The post described by Major Wilson in the article to which this note is appended, where he mentions the killing of Bear's

Rib, and which he says had long been known as Fort LaFramboise, was really none other than this new Fort Pierre; Fort LaFramboise being in fact located some three miles farther up the river than the new Fort Pierre, and that post had no stockade and no bastions, while the description given by Major Wilson of the post which he calls Fort La Framboise fits the case of the new Fort Pierre precisely. It is not certain as to where the timber which went into the new Fort Pierre came from, but there is little doubt that before it was completed some of its material was taken from the old post. Joseph Wandel, who was at that time employed by the American Fur Company, or at least by some one connected with that company, states: "After the soldiers went away (meaning Harney's troops) we took that fort down and built it just the same as it was built below; it was up by the Seven-Mile Timber, just the lower end, and just opposite the lower end of the timber, and about 300 yards from the river. We had to cut the brush away from the end of the timber, because the Indians would lay there and kill people. They did that several times, the Rees and Gros Ventres." He adds: "The second Fort Pierre stood there all the time till the steamboat people took the houses, and nobody knows how it was burned up. Nobody could tell who took it, but the steamboats took it. A good many things was taken by people who freighted up things for the soldiers. They took what they wanted." Clement (Claymore) says: "They built the new Fort Pierre above Fort Pierre at the foot of the island. Chas. Galpin was in charge of old Fort Pierre when it was sold to the government, and of the new post, and staid in charge till the company quit business." Now, this last point is in some doubt; for Wandel, who was employed there, says: "I worked under two bosses, Galpin and Primeau. Primeau was in charge when the fort (meaning old Fort Pierre) was given up.. He left Big Martin in charge of Fort Pierre and he (Primeau) went down below to St. Louis, and he wouldn't work for the company for higher wages, and Chouteau offered him more money, but he wouldn't come up; it was very dangerous and the Indians, even the Sioux, fired into the fort. The fort was built just like old Fort Pierre, and it was taken up there." This indicates that Wandel refers to the new post as the one from which Primeau departed to go to St. Loius; and his circumstantial account of the killing of Bear's Rib while Primeau was in charge of the new Fort Pierre (in 1862) seems to make it reasonably certain that he was in charge of that post for some time; but it is almost certain that Galpin was in charge of the old post when it was turned over to the government, as he certainly was during the negotiations leading up to its sale. Some of the material of the new post was used in erecting a temporary trading store on the east side of the river close to the site of the original Fort. Sully, or as it was called in some of the military reports, Farm Island Camp. Joseph Wandel, who assisted in moving the American Fur Company's property across the river into the store buildings above mentioned, says "That was the year they built old Fort Sully (1863). It was after July that Stilly come in from above, and commenced building. They had a fight at White Lake; he come from there. They built the fort and

wanted the soldiers to stay there. The American Fur Company wanted protection, and General Sully wouldn't give them protection unless they moved their things to the fort, and we moved the things down there. We made rafts and boats out of planks that we had, and put the sugar and coffee in them, and things that we could lift, and there was thousands of dollars' worth of things we couldn't lift. Then we moved down here (meaning to Farm Island), and put up a few houses a mile this side (west) of Fort Sully-just a mile this side of Fort Sully."

Joseph LaBarge-See note on LaBarge, Harkness & Co.

Fort Thompson was abandoned as a military post June 4, 1867. Yanktonais.

1t is 2851/2 miles by water, but it is difficult to see how the land route would be greater than 250 miles between those points, unless a circuitous course was pursued.

See note on Fort LaFramboise. It is not clear how the post here described comes to be referred to as Fort LaFramboise, as that post was undoubtedly built on the higher ground to the northward of the long bottom above Bad River; it certainly was not "in the midst of a plain," as here described. It is suggested that the post built by Galpin in 1857 and 1858, and which stood on the bottom or "plain," and which was next in order above the new Fort Pierre, may be the post here described, and that it may have become known as Fort LaFramboise at the time of Sully's occupancy of it. This must be substantially the case, or else Major Wilson is at fault in referring to the post which was General Sully's headquarters as being "in the midst of a plain." The lower end of Lost Island (opposite which stood Fort LaFramboise) is not less than five miles above the site of old Fort Pierre post, yet Major Wilson here refers to that site as being "three miles below." If his headquarters were only three miles above the site of old Fort Pierre, he was stationed nearer the Galpin post than the site of Fort LaFramboise. Again, the site of Fort LaFramboise as indicated on the map of the Missouri River survey is readily seen to be on the higher ground at the curve of the Missouri at the lower end of Peoria Bottom; it is not in the "plain" or general bottom land of the immediate Fort Pierre neighborhood. Here is a difficulty which it is not easy to clear up, and as the date is at the period when all of the old posts in that vicinity were on their "last legs," so to speak, the difficulty is the greater for that reason. The new Fort Pierre was being demolished at that time, and at least part of its materials were being converted into the trading stores erected by the American Fur Company near old Fort Sully.

See note 76.

Old Fort Sully stood about forty rods above the head of Farm Island, some eighty rods north of the bank of the Missouri, four and one-half miles southeast from the railroad station in Pierre, and something over one-half mile above the mouth of Dry Run. Its site is about one mile

below the Indian Industrial School at East Pierre. It was about fifteen miles above the site of Fort George and seven and one-half miles below old Fort Pierre. Probably Sergeant Dripps is correct in stating the dimensions of the inside barracks enclosure to have been 270 feet square, but a very recent examination of the site by the writer in company with Dr. DeLorme Robinson (October 14, 1902) warrants the statement that the outside stockade or picket line is fifty feet outside of the inner square where were the barracks, officers' quarters, etc., and the inner square is certainly 270 feet or more in length on each side. The location of the flagstaff in the center of the barracks square is still very plainly to be seen. The sutler's stand was located some twenty or twenty-five rods south of the outside picket line.

The war department records seem to indicate that this post was "established" in November, 1863. That the construction of it was the work of the garrison, "and was not completed until the fall of 1864." This last statement is contained in a recent letter from Major Wilson to the writer of this note, in which he further states that the post was capable of accommodating four companies, and he adds: "The site having become unhealthy and otherwise undesirable, it was decided to abandon it, and a new site was selected about 30 miles below (above) the location of the old site, between the Wakabonjon (Okobojo) and Cheyenne Islands. The fort was evacuated July 25, 1866, and a new fort established the same day, the old name being retained. The occupation of Fort Sully was continuous from its establishment until it was discontinued." The island near which the old post was located is also called New Farm Island in the government records.

Fort Sully, the successor to the old post, was, therefore, established July 25, 1866. We will again quote from Major Wilson's said letter his description of the new post and the military reservation upon which it stood:

The original reservation comprises 42 square miles or about 27,275 acres. The buildings, which were intended for 4 infantry companies and band, consisted of 5 one story barracks, two being 116x24 feet, with kitchen L 70x20 feet, and three being 120x17 feet with kitchen L 70x20 feet. There were three sets of quarters for field officers, two sets for captains and four buildings for quarters for subaltern officers; hospital, six storehouses, quarters for non-commissioned staff and laundresses, guard house and engine house, bakery, stables, corral, gallery for rifle practice, ice house, chapel, library and reading room and workshops. The buildings were mainly, constructed of wood with shingle roofs. The cemetery had an area of 100 by 140 feet, and was located about 300 yards east of the post. A canteen was located in an old building on the line of the barracks, but there is no record of any buildings having been used by the post trader. The post was abandoned on November 14, 1894." The new Fort Sully stood about twenty-five miles above Pierre on the east bank of the Missouri, and eighteen or twenty miles below the mouth of the Cheyenne. It was situated on a high bluff some 160 feet above the water, and on the third level or rise from the river, and some three-

fourths of a mile from the water's edge. The Fort Sully Military Reservation, within which the post was located, extended about twelve miles along the east side of the river. The post inclosure was of much larger area than that of old Fort Sully, but we have not at hand the exact dimensions.

See note 68 on the new Fort Pierre.

ADDENDA

Although the posts described below are not mentioned in Major Wilson's text, it has been deemed wise, owing to their pertinence to the subject, to catalogue them here.

Trudeau's House, constituting the oldest known trading post on the upper Missouri, is said by Chittenden to have stood on the east bank of the Missouri "a little above and opposite the site where Fort Randall later stood," and the post was also known as the Pawnee House. It was occupied in the years 1796-7 by one Trudeau.

Loiselle's Post is said to have been the first trading post built in the Sioux country on the Missouri River, and was the oldest of the posts which were known as Cedar Fort, or Fort au Cedres, whose history is somewhat confused, but which were located on two islands, each of which was called Cedar Island, in the Missouri. Loiselle was in possession of the post in 1803-4. "The post was 65 to 70 feet square, with the usual bastions. The pickets were about 14 feet high. There was a building inside 45x32 feet divided into four equal rooms. This was probably the real Fort au Cedres, which is so known in the narratives of the times," says Chittenden. He adds: "Several authorities speak of it as an old Missouri Fur Company trading post, but if so it was possibly the one which burned in the spring of 1810, for no such post is mentioned by Bradbury or Brackenridge in 1811, or by Leavenworth in 1823." However, Brackenridge (in his "Views of Louisiana," page 139), says: "A trader of the name of L'Oiselle had a fort at Cedar Island, in the country of the Sioux, about twelve hundred miles up" (from St. Louis), "which was then the highest point at which any establishments had been made."

Old Fort LaFromboise-The original trading post at the mouth of the Teton, or Little Missouri, as it was misnamed for many years, now called Bad River, was built by Joseph LaFromboise, a mixed blood French Ottawa, who, after having left school at the age of fifteen, came to Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi, thence to the Missouri River, where, late in the fall of 1817, he built a trading post at the mouth of the Teton. He had secured a trading license from the government in 1816 to trade on the headwaters of the Minnesota River. This trading post was built of dead logs which LaFromboise found in the river. In the fourth annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, on page 109, is found a copy of a translation of Lone Dog's "Winter Counts"-meaning substantially the

yearly record kept by that Indian, who was a Yanktonais living, in 1876, near Fort Peck, Montana-under the date of 1817-18, viz: "La Framboise, a Canadian, built a trading store with dry timber. The dryness is shown by the dead tree. Le-Framboise was an old trader among the Dakotas. He once established himself in the Minnesota valley. His name is mentioned by various travelers." On the same page is found the following copy of the account of the Indian The-Flame, who was born about 1825 and lived in 1877 at Peoria Bottom, viz: 1817-18: "Trading store built at Fort Pierre." LaFromboise remained at the mouth of the Teton for two years at least, and perhaps until about 1821, when he returned to Prairie du Chien. A son of said Joseph LaFromboise, also named Joseph and now residing at Veblin, S. D., states that a man from St. Louis came up' in 1819 and relieved his father at the trading post. La Fromboise, Sr., went back and traded on the Big Sioux until about 1823. The son is 73 years old and was born in southern Minnesota on the Des Moines River. His father, who built Fort LaFromboise, is said to have married the daughter of a prominent Indian chief, Walking Day, a brother of the celebrated chief Sleepy Eye of the Wahpetons, at what is now Flandreau, S. D., where he was living in 1823. He probably left the mouth of the Teton shortly before the Columbia Fur Company built Fort Tecumseh a short distance above.

Fort Brasseaux, or "Brasseaux's Houses," was an establishment at or in the immediate vicinity of the mouth of White River in South Dakota. Chittenden refers to it as being situated in the vicinity of, "or possibly ten or twenty miles above," Fort Recovery (a mile or so below the site of Chamberlain, S. D.), but he does not profess to have had definite information, his reference to it being in connection with "a letter by General Ashley dated at this post July 19, 1823, written to Major O'Fallon, Indian agent, in regard to the Aricara campaign then in progress." It was probably some ten miles south of Fort Recovery.

Teton Post, or Fort Teton, was the name by which the trading pest of P. D. Papin & Company, otherwise known as the French Fur Company, was designated. It was built about 1828. It stood immediately south of the mouth of the Teton or Bad River, and some two miles below Fort Tecumseh. The concern by whom it was built were Papin, the Cerre brothers and Honore Picotte, the latter being the Picotte who for years was in charge of old Fort Pierre. The size and precise character of this post is not known. Its location, however, is believed to be indicated by certain evidences of old earthworks, which are still visible, at a point not more than two hundred feet from the south side of Bad River and within, say, three hundred feet of its mouth. It must be borne in mind that the mouth of Bad River is now at least 150 yards further west than when the post in question was erected, as it is known that within the last twenty years the western shore line of the Missouri at that point has been worn away for some twenty rods or thereabouts. There is what seems to be a large natural bank of earth which has at some time been raised by the eddying of the water during some ancient flood or floods,

in the stretch of bottom land south of Bad River and between it and the high bluffs some fifty rods south; this bank being some five or six feet above the general level of said bottom, and extending from very near the south bank of Bad River for thirty rods or more towards the point of the bluff where the latter ends on the Missouri River bank, and this raised ground widens towards the south; but at the north end it is only some fity feet in, width. Upon this high ground can yet be seen indications of several foundations of former structures, commencing near Bad River as stated and extending southward; and this is probably the substantial site of old Fort Teton. When the firm of P. D. Papin & Company sold out to the American Fur Company (see on this point the note on the American Fur Company), the property was immediately moved up to Fort Tecumseh, and Teton post was doubtless demolished at or soon after that time.

But there is some apparently substantial evidence that this post stood just north of the mouth of the Teton. We have relied upon Chittenden's statement that it was below the mouth of that stream, in making the foregoing statement. However, Dr. Coues in his note to Larpenteur (page 181) thus refers to both Fort Tecumseh and Fort Teton: "I may mention here that alongside old Fort Pierre (the first one, 3 miles above Teton River), there was once a post called Fort Tecumseh, which had been abandoned and was in ruins in 1833: Maximilian, ed. of 1843, p. 155, where is also named a Fort Teton of the French Fur Company, a little above Teton River, abandoned when the companies joined and old Fort Pierre was built." The "French Fur Company" was, as above noted, the same as Papin & Co. and is the same concern mentioned by Chittenden as having its post just below the mouth of the Teton.

Basile Clement. (Claymore), who came to Fort Pierre in 1840, also states that Fort Teton was "right by the mouth of Bad River where Fort Pierre City is. There was an old graveyard on the site of Fort Pierre, right by where the Fort Pierre House is. The site of Fort Teton was 300 or 400 yards below the graveyard on the bottom, nearer the Missouri River. The bottom was wide, large there at that time. I saw where old Fort Teton was, and the graveyard." This statement was made September 10, 1899, when the so-called Fort Pierre Hotel was yet intact (it has since been destroyed by fire), and it stood at the northeast corner of Main and Deadwood streets in Fort Pierre, and some fifteen or eighteen rods back from the bank of the Missouri; but a large area of the bottom at that point has been washed away during the last fifteen years, and considerably more must have disappeared during the preceding period and after 1833. The undeniable fact is, however, that Fort Teton stood very close to the Teton River, whether on the south or north side of it.

Sublette & Campbell's "Opposition" post at Fort Pierre was built October 17, 1833, "a little below Fort Tecumseh," and is supposed to have stood between Fort Tecumseh and the mouth of the Teton and above that stream. It is possible, however, that its location was immediately south of the mouth of the Teton, in which event the actual location of Fort Teton was probably just north instead of south (as is pre-

sumed to be the fact) of that river. The post of Sublette & Campbell was occupied only about one year, when it was sold to the American Fur Company. (See Chittenden, page 956.)

Forks of the Cheyenne-In the early thirties the American Fur Company established a post, or "winter quarters" for the Indian trade at the forks of the Cheyenne River east of the Black Hills. This post was in charge of various persons, among others Chadron, after whom Chadron, Neb., was named. Basile Clement (Claymore), who returned from his famous and extensive mountain trip in 1843, and who states that he wintered at the trading quarters of the company the following winter at the mouth of Swan Lake (in what is now Walworth county, South Dakota), further states that he thereafter wintered twice at the forks of the Cheyenne post, and that Joseph Jouett, Joseph Picotte (a nephew of Honore Picotte, who was for many years in charge of old Fort Pierre), Frederick LaBoue and Leon Cornea were in charge of that post at various times. The company also had a post at the mouth of Cherry Creek on the Cheyenne and one farther up the Cheyenne where Pedro is now located. Claymore was also in charge of the company's post on the Moreau River one winter in 1854-5, under Chas. Galpin, and also wintered at the Cherry Creek post (which he says was two miles up that creek) with Frank LaFromboise, who was in charge; this was after the government had placed old Fort Pierre in the custody of William Frost and others and the Indian trade was temporarily revived. The post on the Moreau was near its mouth, but it was probably a short distance up the Missouri from the Moreau. Another post was at Thunder Butte, with old Parquet in charge. The company also had a post at the mouth of the Cheyenne, and one and probably two on White River, and one up Bad River-in fact, wherever the Indians desired to have a trading post established as a branch of the main post, for winter's trade, there was sent an outfit for the purpose, and all of the branches of the Missouri were represented by these sub-posts, from time to time as the business seemed to demand it. There were several along the James River. The list cannot well be exhausted, as some of the so-called posts were of very brief duration and of little importance.

Vermillion Post was located on the east bank of the Missouri and about ten miles below the mouth of the Vermillion River and fifteen miles above Elk Point. It stood in the Vermillion Prairie nearly on the line between Clay and Union counties, South Dakota, and on the Kate Sweeny Bend, opposite Ionia, Neb. Audubon, who visited the post May 16, 1843, thus speaks of it: "Then we came to the establishment called Vermillion River, and met Mr. Cerre, usually called Pascal, the agent of the company (American Fur Company) at this post, a handsome French gentleman, of good manners. He dined with us. After this we landed, and walked to the fort, if the place may be so called, for we found it only a square, strongly picketed, without port holes. It stands on the immediate bank of the river, opposite a long narrow island, and is backed by a vast prairie, all of which was inundated during the spring freshet."

The great cut-off of the river in 1881 has so changed the relations of the stream to the original bank and channel at or about this point, that the precise location of the old post is less easily ascertainable than formerly.

There was also a trading post known as Vermillion Fort, and also as Dickson's Post, which belonged to the American Fur Company and which stood some ten miles above Vermillion River, or about half way from the Vermillion to the James, and at or near Audubon Point, and directly opposite the mouth of Petit Arc or Little Bow Creek, in Clay county, South Dakota, and about two miles south-southeast of the point where the line between that and Yankton county strikes the Missouri. This post was established as early as 1835, and probably prior to that year. William Dickson was in charge of it in 1835, and afterwards Theophile Bruguire. The fact that such a post was there located is attested by Bruguire, Joseph Leonnais or Lyonnais, and Letillier, and their families of Sioux City, and by kinsmen of William Dickson.

The lower of the two Vermillion posts was an important post for the Indian trade with the lower Sioux tribes.

The Columbia Fur Company also had a post at the point where the upper Vermillion Post, or Dickson's Post, was located.

There were several trading posts at and near the mouth of the Niobrara, variously known also as Rapid River, Running Water or L'eau qui Court, the best known of which is Fort Mitchell, established in 1833 and abandoned in 1837, and named for D. D. Mitchell, which stood immediately at the mouth of that stream "on the bluff point of the left bank." One Narcisse Le Clerc, "an irregular trader who had done well enough in the American Fur Company to set up for himself, built a small post just above, on the other side, in 1840 or earlier; this had been abandoned May 21, 1843, when Audubon passed," says Chittenden, who quotes the following from Audubon's journal of the above date: "We stopped to wood at a very propitious place, for it was no less than the fort put up some years ago by Monsieur Le Clerc. Finding no one at the spot, we set to work cutting the pickets off his fortifications till we were loaded with the very best of dry wood." Larpenteur, who had been in charge of this post, and also for several years of Vermillion Post (which one of the two known by that name he does not say, but probably the lower one), states that the Sarpy Post, at the mouth of the Running Water, which was built by or for Peter H. Sarpy, for the Ponca Indian trade, and of which he took charge in 1852, was abandoned in the following winter. He says of it: "The post, a very poor establishment, was situated immediately back of that river (Running Water) about a quarter of a mile from the Missouri."

Chittenden also mentions the Ponca Post, established for the Ponca Indian trade, and situated "just below the mouth of the Niobrara." He is also authority for the statement that the Columbia Fur Company had
post there.

Fort Defiance, built by Harvey, Primeau & Company, about 1845-6, as an "opposition" post to the American Fur Company and operated in

defiance of that concern, stood on the west bank of the Missouri "about six miles above the upper end of the Great Bend, near the mouth of Medicine Creek," says Chittenden. It was also called Fort Bouis from one of the firm. The creek in question is now known as the Yellow Medicine.

Big Sioux Post was located near the mouth of the Big Sioux River, and built for the American Fur Company, and it was in charge of Joseph LaFromboise. (See note on old Fort LaFromboise.)

Fort Primeau, in the neighborhood of old Fort Pierre, was a temporary post erected a short distance above the Fort LaFromboise of La Barge, Harkness & Company, and it stood just above the bend of the Missouri where the latter turns south from Peoria Bottom, its location being on high ground, like that of Fort LaFromboise, and near the edge of the river bluff. An estimate not far from the truth would place it a mile or so above that Fort LaFromboise and something over nine miles above the mouth of Bad River. A detailed description of it is not at hand; but it was built and occupied by Chas. Primeau early in the sixties and probably before 1862. There is said to have been another temporary post called Fort Primeau just below Fort LaFromboise of 1862, but if so it mnst have been of very brief duration.

Fort Rice was built in 1864, and stood on the west side of the Missouri River six and one-half miles above the mouth of the Cannon Ball River, in lat. 46° 31' N., long, 100° 35' W. The military reservation upon which it stood was taken from the lands of the Uncpapas on both sides of the river, in what are now Morton and Emmons counties, North Dakota. Building was begun by Colonel Dill with six companies of the 30th Wisconsin volunteers July 9, 1864, and the post was rebuilt in 1868. It stood 300 yards from the river and 35 feet above low water mark, immediately above a small creek known as Long Knife Creek. On the opposite side of the river and a mile below is the mouth of Long Lake Creek. The site of this post is nearly six miles below the present Fort Rice P. O.

Sergeant J. H. Dripps (Company I,, Sixth Iowa Cavalry), who was at this place when the post was built, during Sully's campaign, says that on July 8 the materials for the post were there at the landing on various boats also carrying provisions, etc.; and on July 18, the soldiers being about to depart under orders, he makes this entry in his journal: "As this is the last day of being here it will be as well to give a short description of the post. It is built on a beautiful table land some 100 feet above the level of the river-a splendid site. It is a beautiful place, built of cottonwood logs sawed 6 by 8 and one story high. There are eight barracks or room for eight companies of soldiers, besides officers' quarters, hospital buildings, etc. The bastions are on the southwest and northeast corners. The quartermaster's and commissary buildings are in the rear of the quarters and are constructed of round logs, but put up in a good style. There are two saw mills at the post, one being a stationary mill run by a steam engine and the other is a portable mill run by horse power. Both have done excellent business in getting out material for the

post. There is a sutler's shop and other fixtures that are usually found around a military post. There is an abundance of splendid cottonwood limber close to the fort above and below the post, and also some hard wood, burr oak, etc. The fort is situated above the mouth of the Cannon Ball River about ten miles and on the same side of the Missouri, and s iso about two miles above the mouth of Long Lake Creek, which mpties itself into the Missouri on the opposite side from the fort. The ost is well situated for defense, and it is the opinion of the writer that 00 men well provisioned could hold it against all the Indians in Dakota
erritory. General Sully gave it the name of Fort Rice. It was built
d garrisoned by six companies of the Thirtieth Wisconsin Infantry.
is is as good and accurate description as I can give it." (See Dr.
ues' note to "Larpenteur," page 384-5.)

Fort Meade, South Dakota, is located three miles east from Sturgis, and was established in 1878, the number of acres in the reservation being 7,842; the garrison now consists of headquarters and eight troops of the 13th U. S. Cavalry. (Per Major Wilson under date of October 9, 1902.) The site and establishment is one of the most beautiful and attractive of the military posts in the country.

"Fort Bennett was built by the federal government as an agency headquarters for the Sioux Indians in the neighborhood of the Cheyenne River, and was located on the west side of the Missouri River about four and one-half miles above Fort Sully, and opposite what is known as the Gehring Ranch. The buildings and inclosures were situated about half a mile back from the river bank on a fine level stretch of rather high bottom land, and their location was about six miles below the southern end of the Little Bend and some twelve miles or more by water below the mouth of the Cheyenne. The military quarters were erected in the fall of 1878, and the agency was established a short time prior thereto. There was a regular Indian agency establishment, also an Indian trader's post in connection, the whole consisting of a number of store-houses, lodging quarters and other appurtenances. The military grounds were at the southern end of the general establishment, and consisted of several main buildings supplemented by a number of neat cottages, the entire military establishment being fenced off from the remainder. The miltary quarters were built by Richard Powelson of Sioux City for the contractor, Charles K. Poor, of that city.

Upon the taking effect of the Sioux agreement of 1889, under which the ceded portion of the Great Reservation of the Sioux Nation of Indians was thrown open to settlement, Fort Bennett was, in 1890 and 1891, abandoned. and Its successor, the present Cheyenne River Indian Agency, was established on the west side of the Missouri and about two miles below a point opposite the mouth of the Little Cheyenne, and some thirty miles by water above the mouth of the Cheyenne.